



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Cameroon

Prime Minister Explains Salary Adjustments

AB0803155093 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in French 1900 GMT 3 March 93

[Full text] of circular issued by the prime minister in Yaounde on the extension of salary adjustments in the parastatal sector]

[Text] In view of the persistent economic and financial crisis facing our country, the government has been forced to take measures in the past few months to reduce the benefits and salary of civil servants. These measures were aimed at reducing government spending in order to make some budget savings which could be used to finance the economic recovery program. Economic recovery concerns all the various sectors of activity and requires that the planned structural adjustment measures be fairly apportioned to all the sectors of the nation. For the measures taken recently in the civil service to have the full economic effects, they need to be extended, particularly to the parastatal sector, which must also work at reducing its production costs with a view to improving the competitiveness of our economy.

I have therefore decided, in accordance with the president's instructions on extending salary reduction measures to the parastatal sector, to issue the following directives:

1. For public administrative, cultural, or scientific institutions as well as for those that are essentially run on government subsidies, I am asking you, where this has already not been done, to immediately reduce the benefits and salary of the staff based on the measures taken in the civil service.

2. For the other categories of public enterprises, I am asking you to immediately convene a meeting of the chairmen of boards of directors and the managing directors of corporations under your supervision in order to start negotiations, depending on each case and on the specific situation of each corporation, for salary cuts in such outfits. The planned cuts must imperatively be extended to the various benefits enjoyed by the staff starting with the management of the corporations concerned.

3. Finally, I am asking you to ensure that the production cost reductions resulting from all these measures benefit consumers of goods from public institutions or such corporations in order to alleviate the effects that the salary cuts might have on workers' purchasing power. Please ensure that the above directives are implemented by 30 March at the latest. A detailed report on the results obtained by each of you in your sector of activity must be sent to me by the same date. I attach a lot of importance to the scrupulous compliance with the directives of this circular and the deadline given.

Signed: Simon Achidu Achu, prime minister and head of government

Chad

1 French Soldier Killed, 2 Injured on Mission

LD0803151893 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 1500 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Text] One French officer has been killed in Chad, and two NCOs have been wounded. The three men were on a reconnaissance mission in the south of Chad. The two very seriously wounded NCOs were repatriated yesterday to France [le metropole]. The military authorities have not given any details about the circumstances in which this accident took place.

Congo

Police Arrest 70 Niger Tuaregs for 'Loitering'

AB0903143993 Dakar PANA in English 1244 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Brazzaville, 9 Mar (ACI/PANA)—Police in Brazzaville last week arrested 70 Niger Tuaregs for loitering, police sources said Tuesday [9 March] in the Congolese capital. About 100 Tuaregs were seen begging in various parts of Brazzaville when some of them were arrested by the police. They are to be sent back to Cameroon from where they crossed into the Congo.

However, the expulsion has been postponed until July because of flooding of the River Sangha, part of which runs along a section of the Cameroon and Congo border. In the meantime, the Tuaregs are being looked after by fellow West Africans.

Police in Congo have launched a major operation to rid the country of all illegal immigrants. A hundred illegal Zairian immigrants drowned in the Congo River recently while being expelled from Congo.

Rwanda

'Confidential' Clause Concerns French Troop Withdrawal

LD0903202193 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On Sunday [7 March], when the agreement between the government and rebels was signed at Dar es Salaam, there was talk of a confidential clause. What is this all about, Monique Masse?

[Masse] The sole object of this confidentiality was to avoid annoying France. The public part of the Dar es Salaam agreement mentions the departure of foreign troops from Rwanda; the confidential additional agreement makes it clear that this means French troops, and it gives a timetable for their withdrawal from Rwanda. The

first clause concerns the French reinforcements sent to Rwanda after the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] offensive on 8 February. These are two companies, about 300 men, who will have a week from 17 March to leave Rwanda.

The two other companies of French troops, who arrived in Rwanda at the beginning of the October 1990 war—also about 300 men—must then be withdrawn to barracks in Kigali, the capital, from 17 March, for a limited period until they are replaced by a neutral international force, on which the RPF and the government still have to agree.

The two sides have already agreed that it will be the Rwandan Government which will contact the countries that might supply this replacement force. The document also envisages that the government should inform the French authorities of its decisions by letter before negotiations start again in Arusha on 15 March, and this time it will be for a definitive peace agreement.

[Announcer] Let me add that once these 600 men have gone, the only French troops remaining in Rwanda will be instructors from the French Army, who are training the government Army, in other words, a few dozen officers.

Ruhengeri Fighting 'Violent' on Cease-Fire Eve

EA0903194493 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la Republique Rwandaise in French 1115 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] The cease-fire between the Rwandan Armed Forces and the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF] troops, as announced by the joint communique issued at the end of the high-level meeting which took place in Dar es Salaam last week, is due to come into effect at midnight tonight. However, violent fighting is reported in Ruhengeri, from where Jean-Baptiste Hakizimana reports:

[Hakizimana] The fighting between Rwanda and the RPF rebels [inkotanyi] continues and is getting more violent in Nkumba commune, in particular. The RPF troops are using heavy weaponry to shell the town of Ruhengeri and its outskirts. More troops continue to arrive from Uganda, as well as war equipment. This is very easy since the RPF rebel forces are in control of a section of the Cyanika-Ruhengeri road, which links Rwanda to Uganda.

The Rwandan Armed Forces' positions targeted last night were those of (Kamisave) and (Shasha), in Kigombe commune, where the Rwandan Armed Forces are still fighting the assailants who have started to scatter. This is why the population is urged to remain vigilant, in (Gashangiro) and (Gahondongo) sectors of Kigombe commune, in particular.

Zaire

Mobutu Addresses Conference of Political Parties

LD0903162693 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Speech by President Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko at the opening of a conference of all Zairean political parties on 9 March; place not given—recorded]

[Text] My very dear compatriots: Our proceedings will be opened at a time when our people are deploring the tragedies that have cost the lives of our compatriots in Angola and very recently in the Republic of Congo. I will ask you all to observe a moment of silence in respect to their memory.

Thank you. Now is not a time for big speeches. The political crisis that has bereaved and impoverished the country has lasted too long. Everybody knows that life cannot resume its normal course as long as confusion continues to prevail at the political level. Similarly, efficient and durable solutions to the crisis we are living through can be found only by the sons and daughters of our country.

The aim of today's meeting is to look for the practical methods and minimal conditions for collaboration between the main transition institutions with a view to guaranteeing a transition without conflict. In other words, we, essentially, will have to examine the following three points:

- One, the formation of a government of broad national union, which I, for my part, described as a government of public salvation in my message to the nation on 5 February.
- Two, the harmonization of the texts that are to govern the organization and exercise of power during the transition.
- Three, the continuation of the democratization process, by setting the major political deadlines; in other words, the constitutional referendum and elections at every level.

Dear compatriots, as far as the first point is concerned—dealing with the transition government—I spoke about it enough in my last message to the nation. I also expanded on it to the foreign press in Gbadolite on 6 February.

The fundamental principles that should rule this government were decreed in the framework of the global political compromise of 31 July 1992; namely, they are neutrality—because no political party has won elections—and compatibility—thanks to a judicious choice of persons predisposed to work together in the higher interest of the nation.

Several quarters that have been consulted have regretted the haste with which a transition government was set up—before the Sovereign National Conference had

ended its work and at a time before the legal framework of how it would work had been clarified.

The confusion resulting from this led to the deadlock that we must put an end to today. On this subject, it will be your task not only to sketch out the ideal profile of the person to be entrusted with forming a government, and of the other members of the government, but also to define the procedures relating to its structure, its composition, and its minimum action program.

The composition of the government whose conditions of organization and functioning you thus will have determined completely freely, will, I hope, include persons who are quite equal to their task, given what is at stake nationally and internationally.

Such a government will, I am sure, act as a platform for all the existing political forces and as a melting pot for cohabitation between the various regions in our country.

Beloved compatriots, I now come to the (organization) of the texts that should govern the transition. The establishment of a government indeed is indispensable and urgent, but do not let us fall back into the lamentable mistakes of the past.

Indeed, a government only can function normally if it has a single legal framework, accepted by all. An exercise already was started on the occasion of the negotiations over the interpretation of the text to govern the organization and the exercise of power during the transition period. This work should be continued until it has been completed. I have no doubt that you will end up with a single constitutional document, the fruit of a compromise that is acceptable to all the existing political forces; a document that I commit myself to promulgating immediately and that will govern the country until the adoption of the constitution of the third republic.

Beloved compatriots, the transition that concerns us so much is not an end in itself. To be sure, it is useful to implement the future and to prepare minds for a new political environment, but the longer it goes on, the more it exposes us to endless quarrels about the legitimacy of those in power.

This is why I always have thought that the people, who are the only primary sovereign, must, as soon as possible, by way of free, democratic, and open elections, appoint those they consider to be worthy of representing them at all levels of power.

This present conclave certainly has every scope to put forward sufficiently realistic deadlines, while bearing in mind the fact that in less than two months we shall have run up three years of transition since my speech of 24 April 1990.

Nevertheless, before coming to elections we shall have to give the country a new constitution, following a referendum on this subject. The assembled will appreciate that it is opportune to reach an agreement in principle on the need to bring together the ideas dividing political

circles between, on the one hand, those who support a parliamentary system in a federal state, and on the other, those who support a semi-presidential system in a state developing towards federalism. This will enable us to have, if possible, a single draft constitution to put to a referendum.

Beloved compatriots, the political meeting to which I have invited you will not be another national conference. It is part of a tradition of dialogue, familiar in our country, and is part of our general and recent history.

Before finishing what I have to say today, I hope that our experience over more than 30 years of independence will be turned to good account, giving those of our people who are living witnesses of all the events of the past the chance to enable us to profit from their wisdom. So, there is no time now to be lost.

I am counting on the conscience and patriotism of all of you present here. Thank you for your kind attention. Long live the Republic. [applause]

Parliament Officials Fail To Attend

AB0903200293 Paris AFP in English 1812 GMT
9 Mar 93

[By Mario Fiorito]

[Excerpts] Kinshasa, March 9 (AFP) - Officials of Zaire's transitional parliament and the radical opposition failed to turn up Tuesday [9 March] as President Mobutu Sese Seko opened a meeting aimed at ending the country's violent political crisis.

The president of the transitional legislative High Council of the Republic (HCR), Archbishop Laurent Monsengwo, told AFP that HCR executive bureau members did not accept the unofficial agenda presented by Marshal Mobutu's side.

Nor did the HCR agree on the "quality of participants," Monsengwo said.

The HCR had wanted a "small number of participants able to sustain a debate on the current political situation," he added.

However, the national AZAP news agency had announced that 195 people would attend the forum, including 127 from regional bodies, 32 from political parties and 36 from official institutions.

The HCR had put a "request" to Mobutu on February 19, asking him to make clear the terms on which he was prepared to cooperate with his arch-rival Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi.

The president's office defined the planned meeting, for which no agenda was made public, first as a "round table" and then a political "conclave." [passage omitted]

Monsengwo on Tuesday said there was no "rupture" with the presidency and the HCR bureau "remains

open" to negotiation. "Experts will continue to discuss ways and means of reaching agreement," he added. The Holy Alliance radical opposition coalition was also absent from the opening of talks with Mobutu's team. [passage omitted]

Presidency Spokesman Reviews Events

AB0903223923 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1900 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Interview with Professor Kabuya Lumuna, spokesman for the presidency of the Republic, by unidentified studio announcer in the studio of Tele-Zaire in Kinshasa on 9 March—live]

[Excerpts] [Studio announcer] Well, ladies and gentlemen, fellow countrymen and women. We have the pleasure to once again receive Prof. Kabuya Lumuna, spokesman for the presidency of the Republic, who will talk to us about this first day of the political meeting at the National Palace. You are welcome, Mr. Professor.

[Lumuna] Thank you Mr. [name indistinct]. The deliberations of the political meeting aimed at finding a solution to the current crisis were inaugurated today with the address of the president of the Republic. Delegations from all the regions were present. Out of the 18 political platforms, two failed to turn up. As for the expected institutions, namely, the National Assembly, the Zairian Armed Forces, the courts, and the tribunals, they were all represented. The president of the Republic took note, not without surprise, of the absence of Monsignor Monsengwo and the bureau of the body monitoring the national conference, namely the High Council of the Republic [HCR]. To this effect, public opinion should know that the head of state is always ready for dialogue. After the long working sessions on 7 and 8 March, he received Msgr. Monsengwo at 0815 GMT this morning at Nsele. A compromise seemed to have been reached on some of points on which they seemed to disagree, namely the protocol on the opening address. So, the head of state was surprised at the absence of the HCR chairman. [passage omitted]

[Studio announcer] OK, but Mr. Professor, before leaving us, we need some answers, because we do not fully understand what happened with the HCR today.

[Lumuna] You know, I would really like to limit myself to the communique, but I think it is necessary to explain this to the public. There is a point of disagreement which, to us, is a minor one, a very minor one. It is the one on the session's protocol....

[Studio announcer, interrupting] Was there only one point of disagreement?

[Lumuna] We think it is normal for the head of state to chair these sessions, despite what people think of him. This is what was done. So, this morning, when Msgr.

Monsengwo met with the head of state, it seemed as if a compromise had been reached. In the first place, he arrived at Nsele 30 minutes late, which made the deliberations begin late. This was not very good. This notwithstanding, the head of state made it a point to receive him before the deliberations began. On this issue, we do not know why... [pauses] what kept Msgr. Monsengwo.

[Studio announcer] What are the points of disagreement?

[Lumuna] I have just told you that. You know, we worked. I issued the communique yesterday. We worked, using the working document, because the bureau of the HCR has no clear document. But we found ourselves with a 10-point document, the title, the aims and objectives, the agenda, the participants, and the modalities of their identification. We reached an agreement on all these points. We even discussed what institutions should be invited, how to present them, and so on. We reached an agreement. And it is... [pauses] I would probably say it was quite unfortunate, but it was on the protocol on the opening speech that we fell apart. We did not feel it was a point that was necessary to block or at any rate to be raised at such an important meeting. I think that we are at ease, especially... [pauses] what is comforting is that out of the groups, only two did not show up. And out of the regions, we recognized the presence of a great number of representatives who, in the first place, are members of the Sacred Union, if they are not members of the HCR. So, fortunately enough, we have a good representation at this conclave of hope.

[Studio announcer] Do you hope that this incident will be quickly overcome while the deliberations are being held?

[Lumuna] You know, fortunately enough, I think that everybody agrees that he has always been ready for dialogue, ready for concession, and ready for openness, even those who think badly of him. It is paradox that the former dictator is apparently almost becoming the example of a democrat. This is what I can tell you. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Political Parties, Associations Convened to Meeting

AB0903185993 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Political parties and associations that are members of the presidential group are convened to an extraordinary meeting tomorrow at 1600 to reexamine the current political situation. The meeting will take place at Rue Sandowa No. 11 in the Kazavubu District.

The political parties and associations that are members of the New Alliance of Unitarist Forces will also meet tomorrow at 0900 at the MNCL [expansion unknown] reception room in Kalamu district. They will also examine the current political situation.

Kenya

Moi Urges Collective Stand on Solving Economic Problems

EA0903142893 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] His Excellency President arap Moi said today that Kenya felt it had fulfilled enough donor conditions for aid resumption but he pointed out that further conditionalities may put the economy at risk and have disastrous results on the welfare of the citizens. President Moi was speaking at State House, Nairobi, when he bade farewell to the outgoing ambassador of Colombia, Dr. German Garcia-Duran.

Saying there were limits for how much can be realistically adjusted to suit donor conditions, President Moi said the government, which is devoted to protecting the ordinary citizen, will have to consider whether the sacrifices will be worthwhile. President Moi expressed concern that the donors were creating fresh and unrealistic aid conditions as time passes, adding that time may come when it will be asked what benefits the adjustments will bring to the people.

He said conditions such as the cutting down of the public service personnel would have disastrous effects if implemented, especially when there was no social security program for employees. The president said similarly, the liberalization of maize marketing would open avenues of exploitation of the common man through high prices and artificial shortages. The president said free sale of maize by middlemen would also encourage smuggling to neighboring countries, a reality that was compounded by the fact that the majority of the neighboring countries were unstable and faced food shortages. President Moi said as some neighboring countries remained without viable economies, to talk about the shortages of essential commodities they were experiencing would inevitably lead to Kenyans losing the little commodities they had to them.

He said the situation in some countries was so bad that even drinking water had to be imported from Kenya. The president said that the general interest of Kenyans mattered more than any other consideration, and stressed that any new changes in policy should be that which improved the welfare of the ordinary Kenyan.

President Moi observed that if the Kenyan economy collapsed it would have effect in the entire region. He called for collective stand by all developing countries in seeking ways of alleviating the economic and social problems facing them.

Somalia

Aidid Receives French Officials, Expresses Gratitude

EA0903220793 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali 1700 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] The chairman of the Somali National Alliance [SNA] and the United Somali Congress [USC], Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid, this morning received at his office the French ambassador accredited to Somalia, Mr. (Alain Digameze), and the French consul resident in Mogadishu, Mr. (Chakis Shele).

Speaking to the French envoys the chairman expressed gratitude to the French Government and people for the humanitarian assistance they had extended to Somalia, noting the visit to Somalia by the French minister for health and international cooperation, Mr. Bernard Kouchner. Mr. Aidid went on to brief the French diplomats on the situation in Kismaayo, where troops loyal to Morgan launched a provocative attack on the people causing loss of life and resulting in demonstrations in parts of the country.

He pointed out that the demonstrations indicated how the Somali people were concerned about the Unified Task Force and particularly the role of the United States in allowing Morgan to invade Kismaayo and enable the remnants of Siad Barre to remain in the town. Chairman Aidid went on to brief the French diplomats on the role the SNA had played at the Addis Ababa meeting in January and the preparations the alliance was making for the meeting due to open in Addis Ababa next 15 March. The chairman said that although there were areas of differences, there were high hopes that the conference would succeed. He expressed regret over the incident at the French Embassy Center on 23 February when demonstrators involved themselves in unseemly activities, hoping that the incident would not affect the cordial relations and cooperation existing between Somalia and France.

In reply, the ambassador, Mr. (Alain Digameze), expressed France's concern at Somali affairs and declared that France would play an important role in finding solutions to the problems in Somalia. The ambassador also conveyed to the chairman greetings from the president of France, Mr. Francois Mitterrand. Mr. Aidid in turn asked the ambassador to convey his greetings to the president, government, and people of France.

Minister Keys Releases 'Normative Economic Model'*MB0903160493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1323
GMT 9 Mar 93*

[By Sean Feely]

[Text] Johannesburg March 9 SAPA—Higher investment and economic growth as envisaged by Finance Minister Derek Keys' normative economic model [NEM] will be crucially dependent upon significant capital inflows and the halving of government dissaving.

The long-awaited model released on Tuesday [9 March] relies predominantly on addressing economic imbalances through supply-side measures but also incorporates socio-economic programmes within the market economy framework of its proposals.

It puts forward measures aimed at increasing investment from 15.9 to 23.1 per cent of gross domestic product to achieve an economic growth rate of 4.5 per cent in 1997.

The NEM's proposals are based predominantly on encouraging more private sector investment from its present level of 11.4 per cent of GDP to 15.3 per cent.

"Various instruments, including the lowering of nominal tax rates and deregulation, are to be used in order to encourage a strong expansion of private sector investment, while public sector investment is also to increase."

This is to be achieved by cutting back government's spending and rationalising its role in the economy in "a gradual but firm policy style," the shortened NEM report states.

Stressing macro-economic stability primarily through fiscal discipline, the model seeks to slash government dissaving from 4.8 per cent of GDP in 1992 to zero by 1997.

Financial stability and the hoped for increase in private investment along with a dramatic improvement in the productivity of investment would establish the basis for a high rate of economic growth and gainful employment.

The net investment of some R[and]51-billion over the next five years would create about 1,300,000 jobs in the formal sector but this is dependent upon easing pressure from wage increases. To achieve the targeted employment level, real wage increases would have to be limited to 0.75 per cent per annum unless productivity increases above a certain level.

However, economic growth is also critically dependent upon boosting South African industry's international competitiveness and protecting the capital account of the balance of payments [BOP].

"The South African economy can only achieve the envisaged GDP growth performance by becoming fully

competitive in internationally tradeable goods and services in categories where its terms of trade is not structurally declining."

The manufacturing industries are seen by the model as the key in this outward thrust as its projections imply an increase of about 80 per cent by 1997 in the annual level of private manufacturing investment.

"Apart from the need for South African industry to become internationally competitive, a growing export propensity will be required to pay for the expected rapid rise in imports of intermediate inputs and capital goods following the envisaged growth on domestic capital formation."

The model stresses that the rationalisation of the protective trade system is urgent because of its implications for the neutralising of the anti-export bias propagated by previous policies.

It discusses the phasing out of exchange control and the lowering of tariff protection, as well as other measures, including the setting up of export processing zones to eradicate the anti-export bias.

These changes would be managed cautiously in a gradual way with a view to protecting the BOP position, especially the capital account.

However, the model believes towards the middle of the five-year period foreign financing would become necessary and it is hopeful this would be achieved because of the proposed reforms aimed at enhancing the competitiveness and health of the economy.

Not only does the NEM address higher economic growth and its necessary conditions, it also aims to increase the distribution of that wealth amongst the population and their access to economic opportunities.

The NEM throws the old apartheid policy of separate development with regard to the economy out of the window and formulates an "economic system of a reconstituted and integrated South Africa".

The share of income enjoyed by the poorest 40 per cent of households is expected to improve from 6.75 per cent in 1988 to ten per cent by 1997. While GDP per capita would improve to 2.25 per cent by 1997, from a negative 4.5 per cent last year.

Furthermore, the model also proposes that a transitional social safety net be in place at an early phase of the suggested economic restructuring programme.

"This safety net includes a package of measures such as unemployment insurance, special training programmes, provision of information regarding job and training opportunities, support measures for small entrepreneurs and public work schemes."

Old age pensions, disability grants, and drought and other emergency welfare funds should be rationalised to

cover poor and vulnerable groups more comprehensively and efficiently, the model says.

In the preface to the document Mr. Keys points out the NEM is a discussion document and its proposals do not claim to be comprehensive.

"The strategies discussed are to be regarded as an internally consistent set of options, rather than a programme proposal from government."

Mandela To Make Weekend Visit Despite Natal Violence

MB0903160393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1239 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Durban Mar 9 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela's scheduled visit to the Natal Midlands this weekend is to go ahead despite an upsurge in violence there.

Mr. Mandela's routine regional visit comes amid a spate of ambushes near Pietermaritzburg which have claimed 20 lives in just over a week.

His visit forms part of a series of trips to the ANC's 14 regions.

The ANC leader had to cancel a similar visit to the Midlands late last year due to security reasons as violence was also raging in the region at the time.

On Tuesday [9 March] Midlands ANC Deputy Chairman Blade Nzimande said that special arrangements had been made to ensure Mr. Mandela's safety.

"We have taken all the precautions to ensure the life of the president and his entourage is not in danger."

Questioned on the timing of the visit, Mr. Nzimande said: "The way things are in the Midlands I don't know whether there will ever be a time when we can say there is no security risk... but we'll make sure the president is safe".

Mr. Mandela will hold meetings with regional and local Midlands activists and will visit sites of political violence. He will also address several functions during his three-day visit.

ANC Expresses Concern Over Natal Killings

MB1003114793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1052 GMT 10 Mar 93

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by the African National Congress]

[Text] The African National Congress is deeply concerned about the terrible spate of killings in the Natal Midlands area. Twenty people have already died during the past few days. In the latest of a series of brutal acts of

terror the attackers fired in broad daylight with automatic weapons into a bus packed with ANC supporters. After the shooting ended four more people lay dead, many more were injured.

We condemn these attacks in the strongest possible terms. Everything possible must be done to bring the terrible spiral of violence to an end. The African National Congress is conducting its own investigation to try and establish who is responsible. We urge our members and supporters to remain calm and not to allow themselves to be provoked by forces intent on destroying the negotiating process and our hopes for peaceful and democratic society.

We urge all political organisations to place the interests of our country above their own, and to work together to stop the mayhem. In this regard we repeat our long-standing call that all the signatories to the National Peace Accord should meet as a matter of urgency. Ways must be found to strengthen the structures of the peace accord. Specific attention should be given to improving the ability of the local dispute resolution committees to enable them to act more effectively.

The number of international and local monitors in the Natal area should also be increased, and particularly their visible presence be raised in the rural areas.

The United Nations and other international monitoring agencies should increase the number of monitors being sent to South Africa.

We can no longer wait, the killings must stop now!
10 March 1993

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The Department of Information and Publicity,
P.O. Box 61884, Marshalltown 2107, Johannesburg.

Midlands ANC Claims IFP, Police Involved in Massacre

MB0703135693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1232 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Pietermaritzburg March 7 SAPA—The Midlands regional executive of the African National Congress [ANC] claims that members of the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] and police elements had a hand in the latest massacre in the Natal Table Mountain area which left 10 people dead on Friday.

"We see this as 'revenge' for the Tuesday massacre since Inkatha have been blaming the ANC for the Tuesday massacre," said an ANC Natal Midlands region statement issued over the weekend.

According to ANC Midlands region deputy chairman Blade Nzimande the violence in the region was being carefully orchestrated and planned by elements from within the security forces "to derail negotiations by stoking the fires of violence".

Responding to the allegations, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said they were devoid of all truth and "must be rejected with the contempt they deserve".

He said the ANC's Midlands region would make a more constructive contribution to peace if it implemented visible and concrete steps to control its supporters and imposed peace at grass roots level.

Capt Kotze repeated a call for political organisations to work for peace by controlling their supporters and working towards the establishment of a culture of political tolerance.

IFP Rejects ANC Charges on Paramilitary Training

MB0503182293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1638 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Durban March 5 SAPA—Claims by the African National Congress [ANC] that the Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] in the Natal Midlands is training youths for paramilitary operations have been rejected, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

Natal Midlands IFP Chairman David Ntombela said on Friday the claims, made by the ANC on Thursday, lacked substance.

The ANC Natal Midlands region said in a statement an IFP shooting range existed at Elandskop near Pietermaritzburg where youths were being trained for war.

Mr Ntombela conceded communities in the region were being given basic instruction in self-protection, fire fighting and first aid.

This did not clash with the terms of the National Peace Accord, he said.

Police have denied any knowledge of the camp.

Military Hospital Denies Treating UNITA Soldiers

MB0503133193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0912 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] Pretoria March 5 SAPA—The South African Medical Service (SAMS) denies it recently admitted any UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] soldiers wounded in the fighting in Angola.

In a statement on Friday [5 March] the SAMS said there had been repeated rumours that UNITA patients had been "arriving by the plane load" at Pretoria's 1 Military Hospital.

"There are no patients from the present Angolan conflict in any military medical institution, nor have there been any," the SAMS said.

In the past, UNITA members had been treated at 1 Military Hospital with the approval of Angola's ruling MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government while several senior MPLA officials had also been treated at the same hospital.

However, the last admission of UNITA patients had been on November 30 last year and were unrelated to the present conflict in Angola, the SAMS said.

It said a group of 16 UNITA individuals—mainly women, children and old men—are currently in South Africa ready to return to Angola.

Covert Ferrying of Arms to Africa Reportedly Admitted

MB0503150793 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 5-11 Mar 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Antonov Flights Acknowledged by South African Officials"]

[Text] Revelations that Soviet aircraft were illegally shipping arms out of Mmabatho airport to various African states have led to the first official acknowledgement that the clandestine consignments of food and weapons from South Africa may be reaching UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces in Angola.

The admissions were made at a confidential meeting called by the Department of Foreign Affairs last Friday [26 February] after THE WEEKLY MAIL published a report that Russian Antonov cargo planes were ferrying covert consignments of food and arms to countries in Africa.

Present at the meeting were members of the National Intelligence Service, the army, the air force and the Department of Civil Aviation [DCA]. Some officials said Antonovs based in South Africa might well be ferrying food, fuel and arms to places in Africa where the supplies could be picked up by UNITA.

The PRETORIA NEWS this week quoted Foreign Affairs sources as saying it was "more than likely" that covert cargoes of food, medical supplies, fuel and weapons were finding their way out of the country with comparative ease.

Officials at the emergency meeting expressed the view that responsible reaction from the South African government late last year could have prevented the war in Angola from escalating.

"There was reportedly alarm as the meeting at the penny dropped and as it appeared increasingly likely that South Africa was—albeit indirectly and illegitimately through individuals—fuelling the war in Angola," the report said.

"It was heard in the forum that far from having its airspace covered with surveillance, the military and civil aviation between them control only sections of the

airspace—with great pockets particularly towards the northwest (in the direction of Angola) left uncovered.

Aviation sources have also confirmed that at least one Russian-registered Antonov operating in South Africa has been grounded on suspicion of carrying out unauthorised flights to southern Zaire.

The Antonov—which carries the Russian registration number CCCP 48059 and used to have the Aeroflot logo on its fuselage—is currently standing on the tarmac at the Durban airport while DCA officials conduct an investigation into the activities of a local firm based in Vereeniging that leases the aircraft from a company in Russia.

THE WEEKLY MAIL has learnt that the company under investigation is Del Industries and that it recently used facilities at the Mmabatho airport in Bophuthatswana for its Antonovs.

One of the Del's directors, David Lechtman, confirmed his aircraft was under investigation by the DCA for flying arms out of the country illegally. He denied that the plane had carried war materiel and said the suspicion had been aroused because his company had "forgotten to file a flight plan".

In response to queries about which aviation firms were using Russian aircraft at the Mmabatho airport, the government of Bophuthatswana named a company called Africa Aeroflot.

"To date, Africa Aeroflot is the only company that uses Russian aircraft at the Mmabatho international Airport. None of the (other) newly independent Soviet states have so far approached Bophuthatswana to operate from Mmabatho," said a press release from the homeland government this week.

Africa Aeroflot, however, disputes the suggestion that their Antonovs have been involved in clandestine flights out of Mmabatho and have asked THE WEEKLY MAIL to state that there is no evidence linking their aircraft to arms supplies.

Investigations are now under way to determine whether deliberate attempts have been made to use the name of the company as a smokescreen for illegitimate flights out of the country by Antonovs which carry the Aeroflot logo.

International relief organisations have also denied claims from civil aviation officials at Mmabatho that Russian aircraft carry relief supplies from the airport to states in Africa under the auspices of the UN and the Red Cross.

"UN mercy flights are carefully controlled and recorded. No cargo has been lifted for the World Food Programmes [WFP] from Mmabatho airport to the site of any WFP relief operation nor has the WFP ever used Mmabatho as a base for its relief operations in Africa," said a statement from the UN relief organisation.

The International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] has also denied that any of its relief operations have a connection with the Mmabatho airport.

"The ICRC has no air operation within the Republic of South Africa or the homelands or from the RSA to other countries. In Mozambique the ICRC sometimes uses a Russian aircraft for relief flights; this aircraft is based in Mozambique and chartered from a local company," said a spokesman of the ICRC in Pretoria.

—After discussions with Africa Aeroflot, THE WEEKLY MAIL this week issued a clarificatory statement saying that there was no direct evidence that Africa Aeroflot was the company responsible for the covert arms supplies to other African countries.

"THE WEEKLY MAIL wishes to make it clear that the newspaper has no evidence linking Africa Aeroflot to the supply of arms to African countries, more particularly Zaire and Angola.

"THE WEEKLY MAIL regrets any inconvenience caused to Africa Aeroflot Airways in so far as the article might have suggested that Africa Aeroflot Airways was involved."

Debate Over NP, ANC Bill of Rights Viewed

MB0603065993 Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL
in English 5-11 Mar 93 p 6

[Report by Phillip van Niekerk: "Banging the Rights Drum (But the Sound Jars)"]

[Text] South Africa's debate on a bill of rights has turned into a form of political duelling banjos—without the musical treat. To date, the African National Congress [ANC], the National Party [NP] and Inkatha have all put forward their versions of "fundamental" rights. The Democratic Party [DP] is belatedly preparing its own.

Rights have become barter commodities, while the apathy of the people whose interests are supposedly at stake can be measured in inverse proportion to the esteemed legal minds involved in dreaming up new rights.

The latest contribution, the ANC's updated draft bill, has just arrived in the mail. It is a "preliminary, revised version" to be put to the movement's policy conference for finality.

It is a cumbersome document, 24 pages long, consisting of 23 sections and numerous clauses and sub-clauses and points of explanation. Six of the sections have nothing to do with rights, but the procedures to be followed in the event of a state of emergency, when the president and a majority in parliament can suspend just about every civil liberty that the first 13 sections of the same document create.

The ANC draft points to the huge limitation to the discussion of bills of rights in South Africa—that it is not

being conducted by flesh and blood people, but by political parties, backed up by bloodless lawyers to dot the i's, cross the t's and mangle the language.

A good litmus test of a bill of rights is always to look at the section on freedom of speech and information, because this is the one that political parties most often like to fool around with.

This is what greets one under article four of the ANC document: "There shall be freedom of thought, speech, free expression, and opinion, including a free press which shall report and comment fairly and respect the right of reply."

The constitutional requirement that the press "shall report and comment fairly" has been added since the last draft bill of rights in 1991.

What bothers one is that some of the finest legal minds in the country are involved. One would feel a lot better if this was the first draft.

The fact that they have come this far, laundered it through a number of sub-committees and discussion groups, to still arrive at this formulation persuades one that the desire to muzzle the press is an extremely persistent strain in ANC thinking.

It is difficult to imagine that, after the legal experts have let this clause pass, an ANC policy conference, dominated as it would be by political activists, would feel a compelling need to argue it down.

It's not that one does not believe that a free press should report and comment fairly and respect the right of reply.

But as a legal colleague points out, the United States Supreme Court has made the point over and over again that some measure of abuse and error is inherent in every right. Freedom of speech cannot be restricted to what is deemed to be fair. Otherwise it wouldn't be free.

Besides, who will decide what is fair and what is unfair?

This provision takes one right back to the era of John Vorster and the Nationalist government demanding that the press be responsible, but not even Vorster or Stoffel Botha attempted to embed an authoritarian prohibition on "unfair comment" in the constitution of the country.

Under the ANC's bill of rights, allegedly devised to create greater freedom, the press will be less free than it is now.

What is equally disturbing is what the section on press freedom, like the NP bill of rights, leaves out. Having gone to great lengths to provide an exhaustive list of rights for the citizenry in the rest of the bill, there is no freedom of information provision, no right of citizens to have access to the records of government.

This is a provision that could really empower people and, given the justifiable concerns about corruption and abuse of power, make government much more accountable.

The ANC is not silent on this point. Instead, it proffers the vague and unenforceable "all men and women shall be entitled to all the information necessary to enable them to make effective use of their rights as citizens, workers or consumers".

Who will decide what the limits of "necessary" and "effective" are? The only conclusion one can draw from this phrasing is that lawyers are capable of meaningless formulations when they need to put dud clauses into contracts.

One ought not to be too surprised. The ANC, as the probable future government, has never liked the media prying into its documents.

Last year, the commission of inquiry into the ANC's detention camps recommended that the movement release the internal report into the 1984 camps mutiny and the internal inquiry into the 1989 death of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] commander Thami Zulu, which is still shrouded in mystery.

The release of both documents should be regarded as being in the public interest. Still, nothing has been forthcoming.

It is notable that the key drafter of the Thami Zulu report, which by all accounts is a whitewash, is Albie Sachs, a member of the ANC constitutional committee.

But it is not only what is actually said in the phrasing of the bill, or left out, but the whole cumbersome litany of rights that makes both the ANC and the government's charters so problematic.

The core freedoms are diluted and weakened when lumped together with every imaginable right, such as equality in marriage (a section that could inadvertently outlaw ante-nuptial contracts).

Press freedom and the right to a fair trial are degraded to one of dozens of other rights, some enforceable, others not.

It's not that some rights are superior to others, it's just that they're of a different order. Why not create a special charter of social and economic rights, including the rights of trade union members, of children, of the disabled, the rights to shelter and jobs, as a progressive statement of intent for the New South Africa, separate from the practical and enforceable core civil rights?

There is much that is gratuitous in the ANC's document. For instance, there is this clause: "Legislation may provide for reproductive rights and rights associated with childbirth and child-raising may be respected." Do we really need to say this?

It is reminiscent of one Noah Webster, who was opposed to a bill of rights in the American Constitution and sarcastically suggested that a clause be inserted saying: "Congress shall never restrain any inhabitant of America from eating and drinking, at seasonable times, or prevent his lying on his left side, in a long winter's night, or even on his back, when he is fatigued from lying on his right."

The American Bill of Rights, an amendment to the Constitution, has lasted more than 200 years. That is largely because its most empowering feature is that it is relatively short and the language is wonderfully clear and simple.

At the end of the day, the ANC has produced a document that seeks to set society in a straitjacket of political correctness. It might win votes but ends up defeating the object of a bill of rights.

As the DP's Tony Leon says, both the National Party and the ANC have taken their political manifestoes and dressed them up as bills of rights. I hope he keeps that in mind when he draws up the DP's version.

The most ominous aspect is that there is a convergence between the ANC and the NP government in the ease with which the core rights can be derogated—in which, for instance, people can be detained without trial and censorship introduced.

As the new South Africa is unlikely to face a military threat from the outside, unless spacemen from Mars invade, what we have a blueprint for the crushing of internal dissent—and in the bill of rights yet.

Let us hope that South Africa does not yawn its way into the new era when the ANC and the NP together will share awesome power, having arrogated the right to themselves to suspend civil liberties with a minimum of fanfare.

PAC President Makwetu Interviewed on Talks

MB0503200093 Johannesburg NEW NATION in English 5-11 Mar 93 p 8

[Interview with Clarence Makwetu, president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, by unidentified reporter in the "Face the Nation" column; place and date not given]

[Text] **NEW NATION: What does the PAC [Pan Africanist Congress] expect from this weekend preparatory talks?**

Clarence Makwetu: It will be difficult for me to say what we expect from the preparatory talks because we don't even know the agenda. As far as we are concerned we wish the agenda would be pointed. Issues that we feel should be discussed at the constituent assembly should not be debated at this stage.

The preparatory talks should only be to try and facilitate the establishment of a new forum other than Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] which was

undemocratic. We feel that the new forum should be inclusive because as far as we are concerned Codesa was exclusive. We don't want to be involved in a situation where Codesa is going to be revived. We want the preparatory talks to discuss the formation of a new forum.

It is now certain that the homeland governments and political parties will attend the preparatory meeting. Does this not go against the grain of the PAC policy which is against any deals with homeland administrations?

It does go against the grain of PAC policy but we had no power to prevent that. We would like to have seen a situation where all members of the oppressed are on one side of the table and the regime and its followers are on the other side of the table. That is the situation which we feel should be ideal at the preparatory talks.

What about the PAC's relationship with Transkei? Does your organisation view it differently from the other homelands?

It is not correct that we have good relations with Transkei only. Recently we met with the government of KwaNdebele with the view of bringing all those who subscribe to the principles of a constituent assembly together. Relations with Transkei or whatever grouping is aimed at reviving the Patriotic Front (PF).

We do not have any problem with the Transkei. Our relationship with them is good.

So where do you position the homelands. Are they part of the oppressor or the oppressed?

We are opposed to them making separate development workable. We do not embrace what they are doing. But at the same time we feel we should not push them to the enemy camp. We will deal with them only if they stand for the same principles we stand for.

Does this not represent a departure from the PAC position which rejects negotiations with homeland leaders?

It is not a departure from the PAC policy. We have had contacts with them in Durban in 1991 when we established the PF. It might be difficult to give the number of homelands which we have good relations with. But I have to say we have problems with kwaZulu because they do not subscribe to the idea of a constituent assembly.

They are also pushing the idea of federalism to which we do not subscribe. But that does not say we should fold our arms and say go to the regime. We will rather win them over to our side but that will not be an easy task.

We still intend visiting some of the homelands or inviting their leaders to our office where we can discuss our position with them.

The PAC position is that the negotiations forum should have a two-sided table. Do you think this is a practical approach given the differences that exist amongst members of the PF?

As far as we are concerned it is still a realistic approach. We do not regard it as impossible. To make my point I should cite the idea of a foreign venue and a neutral chairperson. When we put this forward the whole world said this was an impossible demand. But we have proved that that can be done. We have met the regime in Abuja, Nigeria, and in Botswana.

There is nothing impossible in this world. We will keep on trying. It is our duty to try and win our brothers over. But that does not mean when we disagree we should throw up our arms in the air.

What are the obstacles that prevent the PF from coming together?

To me the problem is the leadership. The grassroots as far as I'm concerned are for unity. The real problem is the leadership. I'm saying this because I do not know how many times we have tried to organise to meet with the leadership of the ANC [African National Congress] and this has failed.

In the process we have discovered that we tend to waste a lot of time playing with words. I'm saying this because in a meeting in Namibia with the Southern African Development Committee (SADC) where the ANC was led by Cyril Ramaphosa, he put forward a very strange proposition. He told the meeting that the ANC was not interested in board room unity but unity in action. This could be interpreted to mean that if we find the ANC people toying-toying [protest dancing] in Eloff Street in Johannesburg we should join in the toying-toying even if we do not know what they are toying-toying for.

As far as we are concerned we should come together and discuss our strategies first then we can say "gentlemen let us march on such and such a day". Then we can talk about unity in action.

Secondly, in a meeting of the frontline states in Harare in Zimbabwe, comrade Nelson Mandela put very strange demands of the PAC in order to have unity. These demands, I'm certain, are not known by the rank and file of the ANC and PAC. For instance, he told delegates that when he was in jail he was told that there was an organisation by the name of PAC. It was very strange for all of us to hear him say that. We used to sit together side by side in Robben Island discussing the PAC and ANC almost every day but now he comes out and says he was told. He said when he came out he looked for an organisation called the PAC and could not find it. He was not saying this to me alone but to all frontline state leaders.

Comrade Mandela said in order for unity to take place, the PAC must submit an audited statement showing our membership. Another audited statement showing our

assets and statements showing the strength of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). Do you think the rank and file of the ANC would make such demands? Hence I say the problem is with the leadership. If the grassroots can exert pressure on us, I am optimistic that unity could be achieved.

We in the PAC have maintained that irrespective of our differences, we must sit down and discuss crucial issues facing our country.

Given these problems, it now seems that a two-sided table is highly unlikely. Will the PAC then participate in a multi-party conference even without such a two-sided table?

We will be compelled to participate because we have a mandate from the congress to continue negotiating the future of our country. Unless that resolution is rescinded we will have to participate with the hope that in the final analysis sanity will prevail.

The armed struggle was part of the discussion between the government and the PAC this week. Does this suggest a shift on the part of the PAC to entertain such a discussion before the ballot is secured?

It does not represent a shift. By discussing armed struggle does not mean we are calling it off. What we are saying is that if they say APLA must put an end to its activities, that is a unilateral decision which goes against the United Nations declaration. The declaration makes it clear that there must be a mutual cessation of hostilities between all parties.

Was this week's meeting meant to clear the obstacles in the resumption of substantive bilateral talks between the PAC and the regime?

I would not say the meeting was meant to clear the way for further talks because it was the government which called off our meeting in December. It was the government again which invited us to meet them outside the country.

If the multi-party forum that emerges after this week's preparatory meeting fails to satisfy the PAC's requirements, where does the organisation go from there?

We will continue with the struggle.

Won't the PAC feel marginalised?

We will not feel marginalised if we fail to be part of the new forum. We have heard about us being marginalised for over 30 years now, that if you do not do this or that you are going to be marginalised or left out. It has not turned out to be true.

We do not have any fear at all even on this issue. We were told in December that the regime would no longer talk to us. But it is they, who have taken the initiative. Therefore the question of being marginalised does not feature at all. We never even bother ourselves with it

because we know that the day they are serious about resolving the issue of our country we must be there. We have no doubt about it.

If the multi-party forum that will be convened after this weekend's preparatory meeting does not meet your requirements, will your organisation still attend?

No.

But you will participate in a constituent assembly election?

Yes.

Will your organisation not be disadvantaged in such an election given the fact that you would have had no part in shaping the framework in which such election will take place?

We do not anticipate that our colleagues, who would take part in those multi-party talks, would accept anything that is offered by the regime.

The PAC is not the only organisation that is fighting for liberation in this country. There is the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) and the ANC among others.

I cannot expect that these organisation would fall for something undemocratic.

How do you view the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and would your organisation take part in it if agreement is reached regarding its establishment?

We are not prepared to be involved in any structure that is going to be formed by the regime and whoever. We are putting our case clearly and that is—let us go for voter registration and then move on to elections for a constituent assembly. There should not be any transitional arrangement in the form of an interim government or a TEC.

Would APLA change its position once we have a TEC where all armed forces would come under a single command?

Firstly, there is no guarantee that the TEC is going to take place. Nobody can guarantee that. That is still something subject to debate.

On the question of whether APLA would continue with attacks, I think that can be discussed between APLA and the PAC.

What is the current membership of the PAC?

We are not obliged to disclose that at this stage. What I can indicate is that before we were banned we were confined to Johannesburg and Cape Town. In Cape Town we had only six branches. We also did not have any representation in the Orange Free State. We now have branches as far as the Limpopo River. Figures relating to our membership would easily be determined

by the ballot. Let us put the test to the people. I do not feel there is a need to put figures at this stage.

Where do you see the PAC and the country 10 years from now?

I think the PAC will be in power then, while South Africa would be a democratic country.

IFP Western Cape Chairman on Regional Growth

MB0603174793 Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 25 Feb 93 p 19

[Interview with western Cape Inkatha Freedom Party Chairman Nicholas Myburgh by DIE BURGER political correspondent Barnard Beukman; place and date not given—first paragraph DIE BURGER introduction.]

[Text] The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] recently opened a regional office in Cape Town with a permanent staff. The party also held an open meeting in Claremont. Barnard Beukman of our political staff spoke to western Cape IFP Chairman Nicholas Beukman.

[Beukman] How can the western and southern Cape Province benefit from an IFP presence? Do you sell well here? Is the IFP not really just a Natal party?

[Myburgh] The IFP is making—something which disturbs our opposition—progress in all parts of the country, including here. You must understand that each time the government and the African National Congress [ANC] engage in a bush conference, and after every thoughtless agreement which the government concludes with it, the tangible outcome becomes reflected on our membership lists.

Ordinary people are progressively getting interested in Inkatha's policy and vision of the future—our insistence on law and order, strong regional governments with real powers, and a free market system with minimal state interference.

The IFP offers in this region, as in any part of the country, a political haven for an increasing number of people who have finally lost confidence in the government and who, in any case, would not trust the African National Congress-South African Communist Party alliance with their future.

The IFP has, for instance, more than a thousand branches countrywide. We are no longer just a Natal or a regional party, but indeed a growing factor on the political scene.

[Beukman] The impression exists that Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi has reduced himself to a regional leader by, for example, staying away from talks due to quarrels about the king. If he wants to be a real national leader, should he not abandon his homeland leadership and be in an office in Durban or Johannesburg?

[Myburgh] Dr. Buthelezi could never be reduced to a mere regional leader. His growing support across a very broad spectrum is too big for that. The most clear proof of his stature are the vicious political attacks very often directed at him. If he and the IFP were so insignificant, why then is such a lot of energy being used to destroy them?

The issue about the king is a separate matter of a critical nature for reaching a peaceful settlement. Dr. Buthelezi did a responsible thing by focusing attention on the seriousness of the matter, because without the deserving participation of the king in the negotiation process, a disaster would ensue. That disaster could still be averted at this stage, but I am afraid time is running out.

[Beukman] What is the IFP doing these days in the company of those who fought stubbornly against the abolition of the offensive apartheid laws?

[Myburgh] Apartheid is hopefully something of the past—for good. Inkatha is in fact one of the products of the fight against apartheid. But now we have to be assured of the future and it is our duty to investigate, together with any other party, ways which will prevent a system which is just as bad, or even worse than apartheid, from being forced on us.

We have to move away from the status quo to something better and that is the main motive behind the Concerned South Africans Group [Cosag]. Apparently, the Conservative Party accepts this approach and that is all that counts as far as Cosag is concerned.

[Beukman] Does the IFP see itself in alliance with the National Party [NP] in the long run?

[Myburgh] No one at this stage is falling over his legs to be in alliance with the NP. It is perhaps too risky for a variety of reasons. Some people will label it as political suicide. But a week is a long time in politics.

[Beukman] The ANC is sometimes spoken about as an organization which is in the claws of a communist power cabal, dominated by communist whites and Indians. In contrast to that, the IFP would gradually offer refuge to retired securocrats who promote their own agendas. Any comment?

[Myburgh] The SACP's stranglehold is a fact with a long historical background. The SACP's strategy, namely, to hold the most key positions in the ANC, is in keeping with their Leninist approach. The purpose for this is to prevent the so-called workers class revolution from being sold out by elitist elements. Caution has to be taken against any watering down of their socialist agenda, the SACP says.

In contrast to this, the IFP is an open party which cannot be manipulated by secret organizations such as the South African Communist Party or the Broederbond. The party's leadership is very strong, independent and too experienced to tolerate any agenda other than our own.

It is indeed interesting that when certain people advised the government on, for example, security matters over the years, they were appreciated and held up high. Now that the same people have more confidence in the IFP, they have all of a sudden become "obsolete securocrats". How does that rhyme?

[Beukman] Do the IFP's constitutional proposals for Natal pose a hidden threat for a Unilateral Declaration of Independence [UDI]?

[Myburgh] The IFP's constitutional proposals are in principle applicable to all of South Africa. For example, the western Cape or the northern Transvaal could also benefit from our proposals for Natal. They are not about separation—UDI style. It is an honest, straight forward attempt to give content to the debate on federalism or strong regional government. It is the only way in which lasting peace can be reached for the country's diversity.

South Africans of all races are sick and tired of an all-powerful, dictatorial, central power, and all the bureaucratic fuss and squandering which go with it. The central authority must have absolute limited powers such as foreign affairs, and several other tasks, while the real decision-making capabilities are seated in a strong regional government. This is how democracy comes closer to the people.

[Beukman] The government was hauled over the coals by, among others, the IFP for its Record of Understanding, but is the Slovo-document on power-sharing not exactly one of its positive results?

[Myburgh] The Record of Understanding was a big mistake which has caused endless damage. One in fact gets the impression that the government is also realizing it was a mistake. We could never have agreed to it, and the government knew this, but the urge to satisfy the ANC is obviously insatiable.

The Slovo document is something completely different—a misleading piece of Leninist tactic, an attempt to ensure that the ANC-SACP partnership at least gets joint control of all the important functions of the state, especially the security forces. Slovo and his followers realize that an immediate solo government is not attainable right now. At the same time, they satisfy the government's need for certain positions of power. It is in reality an extremely undemocratic and opportunistic document with a hidden agenda which could in no way be seen as positive. It should be regarded with great suspicion instead.

[Beukman] What can the sudden disappearance of the post-referendum euphoria, which seems to have quickly changed into what seems to be a state of national depression, be ascribed to?

[Myburgh] People are noticing a serious lack of leadership from the government. In Africa, a little bit of force has always been necessary for survival. In its place, the country is being paralyzed by an overdose of appeasing

politics, an approach which, after three years, has yielded little advantage, if any at all.

[Beukman] In general, the scenarios for this year seem positive. How do you see the rest of the year, and what is your opinion of the way an election and the results will go?

[Myburgh] Any optimism must make way for a sober analysis of the domestic situation. There are still very serious obstacles ahead.

The issue of an interim government is tremendously problematic. Also the way a new constitution is to be written and its content is of the utmost importance.

We only have one chance, in fact. That is why we have to get it right first time round or else we will have to coexist forever with a catastrophe. That is why the IFP repeatedly brings our reservations to the surface, and points out problems.

The IFP nonetheless looks forward to a free, fair election without intimidation. Whether that will be achieved within the foreseeable future is another question altogether.

We in fact have reason to believe that we can create a political sensation within the context of free elections. Our message is right, our leadership is strong and reliable, and our will to win is unshakeable.

9 Mar Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries MB0903180993

[Editorial Report]

BUSINESS DAY

Public Works Programs—"Public works programmes and labour-intensive construction methods are the rage, judging from submissions by COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and a number of construction and civil engineering groups," a page 8 editorial in the 9 March Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English notes. Among the arguments are reducing unemployment and kickstarting the economy. However, the editorial notes, "no public works programme would, in itself, spark sustainable growth" and that "some protagonists are unable to separate their business interests from the public interest." The editorial suggests that "before we are dragged into a series of costly, ill-defined schemes, we need clarity on what we are looking for, and what is feasible."

CITY PRESS

'Putting 'go' back in negotiations'—"A new SA [South Africa] was born yesterday, but not without birth pangs," begins the Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 7 March in a page 12 editorial. The Kempton Park multi-party planning conference "was a resounding success."

"No one ever thought that the more than 30 years of armed struggle waged by the ANC from exile would one day end up at Kempton Park—with yesterday's enemies shaking hands." Or that "the PAC's infamous slogan of 'one settler, one bullet' would change overnight to 'one settler, one ballot'." "We believe this is good for the country and its future" because "we have always maintained that SA's problems would work out easily through evolutionary, rather than revolutionary changes." "Joe Slovo was spot-on when he said politicians have said their bit and now was the time for the people, the voiceless and voteless masses of our country, to have their say through the vote. We hope a full resumption of multilateral talks will start soon."

Remembering Apartheid 'With Nostalgia'—"We had hardly made out what evil possessed the killers who butchered the six Natal schoolchildren in cold blood, when on Friday 10 people were massacred about 10 km from the same spot," begins the Johannesburg CITY PRESS in an editorial on the same page. "Violence is refusing to go away. And, in our view, this bodes ill for a future SA. The liberation struggle will have been in vain. And according to some cynics, blacks will remember apartheid SA with nostalgia." "Violence has caused this mess. It seems as if our country is being held hostage by some dark forces of evil."

THE CITIZEN

Talks 'back on track'—The Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 8 March in a page 6 editorial states that "it may be a hackneyed expression, but the multi-party negotiations are back on track." However, "euphoria about the multi-party negotiations may be misplaced." At the end of March when negotiations may take place, it will then be seen "whether a compromise can be reached if not by general consensus, then by sufficient consensus." "The future will depend on an agreement being reached that will not just be accepted by the delegations taking part, but by all reasonable men. What the planning conference showed is that there is a will to succeed in placing the new South Africa in place, as quickly as possible."

SOWETAN

Murders in Natal—"We cannot afford to be overconfident or ecstatic about the success of the first round of talks called the Son of Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]," an editorial in the 9 March Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on page 6 notes. "Those who thought they could scuttle them by setting up acts of murder in Natal have failed" and "we are in fact delighted by the way in which Dr. Frank Mdlalose of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] reacted." However, "we have great fear that the nearer we get to a final political solution the greater the damage will be from such insane quarters."

10 Mar Review of Press Editorials, Commentaries
MB1003140293

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Praise for Finance Minister's Normative Economic Model—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 10 March in a page 12 editorial says Finance Minister Derek Keys' Normative Economic Model has "addressed all aspects of economic policy and related areas, such as housing and education, to put forward a model which is, above all, pragmatic. It places minimum reliance on foreign investment, continues the Reserve Bank's stringent anti-inflation policies and sets tough but achievable fiscal targets." Keys is "wise to use the National Economic Forum [NEF] as the platform for discussion on the plan and its implementation, given the NEF's recent success in debating future economic policy. Participants at the forum should, however, be aware that time is rapidly running out for rebuilding a sound economic base on which to establish a democratic political structure."

BUSINESS DAY

Need To Sell Economic Adjustment Program—"Drafting and publishing the economic structural adjustment programme was the easy part of reforming the overregulated and sclerotic South African economy. The difficult part—selling the reforms to organised labour and to the extra-parliamentary opposition—begins today," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 10 March. "The formal apology that the mass movements have long sought for the iniquities of apartheid may not yet have been forthcoming at a political level, but the Keys plan almost overcompensates in its appraisal of the economics of separate development." BUSINESS DAY believes the plan's intention to "let the markets work" has "much to commend it, not only to the formal economy but also to

those who have been excluded from it. It deserves, through institutions such as the national economic forum, the constructive support of all who can contribute to its ultimate success."

SOWETAN

Pontificating About Peace Insufficient—Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 10 March in a page 6 editorial finds it "difficult" to choose words strong enough to express the "horror, anger and anguish felt throughout the land over the continuing massacre of innocent people in Natal." "A big responsibility rests with political leaders, especially the ANC [African National Congress] and Inkatha leadership. Pontificating about peace from public forums is not enough." Therefore, the country is "owed an explanation as to why Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi have still not held their meeting. Leaders should swallow their pride and do whatever is necessary to stop the slaughter."

BEELD

Multiparty Negotiations Sign of Restoration in Country—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 8 March in a page 6 editorial views the two-day planning conference as "a small step for the negotiations process in South Africa: a big step for the restoration of trust." "The bilateral negotiations this year obviously yielded good results which brought about a spirit of reconciliation at the conference." "Negotiation has its own dynamics, and the Conservative Party will eventually realize that as the multiparty negotiation process develops, new alliances will come into being, and that old ones will be done away with. The Concerned South Africans Group could shrink into insignificance while multiparty negotiations make headway. Let there be no illusions: the anchor, however, of this process is the National Party and the African National Congress, who are evidently trying to make room for the smaller parties in order to accommodate their fears and ideals." "What has taken place during these past few days confirms our feeling—since the end of last year—that there are signs of restoration in the political system of this country."

Angola

Savimbi Addresses Nation From Huambo 9 Mar

MB0903162893 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 1231 GMT 9 Mar 93

["Address to the Nation" by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, relayed from Huambo on 9 March—live]

[Text] Angolan men and women, daughters and sons of our common fatherland, tested militants and (?sympathizers) of our glorious National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] party, members of the General Staff of the patriotic and revolutionary Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], compatriots:

This declaration is prompted by my profound sense of duty toward my fatherland and by my Angolan conscience. We all know that our country is in flames. We (?ought) to find a solution that is both (?full-fledged) and [words indistinct] the bogus elections held in September 1992. It has been only after the complete liberation of the city of Huambo, capital of the central highlands, that I felt the right to make this statement: As in Luanda, Sumbe, Benguela, Lobito, Kubango, Cunene, Menongue, Bie, Saurimo, Luena, and particularly in Malanje where the Riot Police and the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], which are abusively described as the Angolan Armed Forces, FAA.

Also in Huambo on 9 January 1993, Riot Police Superintendent Jorge Sukissa was instructed to expel UNITA from Huambo in a message our monitoring services intercepted. The message was sent directly by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]. The following is the text of the message: quote, my dear Sukissa, it is urgent to expel the UNITA bandits from Huambo because Huambo is politically, strategically, and militarily decisive, unquote.

When Sukissa ordered the attack on UNITA, the latter was still negotiating peace in Huambo through Generals Demostenes Amos Chilingutula and Domingos Augusto Yauka Huila. It was once again a treacherous attack, typical of the MPLA-Labor Party, a treacherous attack on negotiating responsibility like the one in Luanda, a treacherous attack on personal friendship, and a treacherous attack on the word that had been given. Likewise, our negotiators—namely, Vice President Jeremias Kalangula Chitunda and Engineer Elias Salupeto Pena, the head of the UNITA delegation to the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, who had left for Luanda and have since been sadly missed by every Angolan, were killed while on a peace mission.

It is also worth pointing out that in Huambo there was a FAPLA war machine that can perhaps only be compared to what they have in Luanda, but not in any other city.

We also had to face manipulation of the Angolan and international public opinion by a man who has always lied and always posed as a journalist. He is William Tone, who was after all a spy agent, an agent involved in dirty business, an individual whose messages are in our hands. I am now reading one of his messages: My dear Army General Joao de Matos, if I am here it is because of you. If I am here, it is because of our common ideals. I shall do all I can to help Sukissa. I would like you to call my enterprise and my wife, Ana. Likewise, I would like you to tell Mrs. Rosa about (Levitecnica), and Pinock Eduardo, the director for Cabinda, regarding the other house.

So, this is the type of journalist who is also chairman of the Human Rights Commission and who is involved in espionage activities, who owes allegiance to a chief of an army general staff, and who is worried about other people's private lives. In particular, he owes allegiance on the basis of ideology.

We know that the MPLA has been the only party to introduce armed Communism in Africa. That is what William Tone served. Over the next few days the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel will broadcast excerpts of all of William Tone's messages to his wife, his girl friends, and his enterprises so that we understand that we are still faced with a clear communist conspiracy.

Huambo residents have paid dearly with their flesh the 55 days and 55 nights of violent clashes the likes of which have never been seen before in African military theaters. Mavinga is 10 times less violent than what happened in Huambo. We have won. Those with strength are the ones with reason, and this is when they are attacked in their own homes.

The liberation of Huambo cannot in any way represent a danger to national unity. Huambo cannot go into the annals of Angola's history, stained with secessionist ideas. We are in the presence of a city that ought to have its own importance within the context of Angolan life. In modern times, Huambo represents progress, the people of the central highlands as well as their unity, achievements, feelings, sorrows, hope, tears, work, and joy.

Next to Huambo is Bailundo with the most distinguished traditional chiefs of this area and this people—namely, the Ekwikwi, Mukiavala, Mutu-va-Kavela, Numa, Dunduma from Bie, and others from Caconda who fought in battles that we know of, but which some ignore. Those are battles that have always inspired us and which made Portuguese colonialists retreat on several occasions before they could control the central highlands by the force of arms. The peoples from the central highlands have never surrendered. They never welcomed the Portuguese colonialists with open arms. Instead, they lost the war.

While we are related to them, we were inspired by them at this critical moment our country is facing in which our peoples are trampled and humiliated. It is a time when

the Riot Police kill, massacre, destroy, and burn not only with the approval of the government, but also with the latter's encouragement.

Huambo cannot be the starting point of ideas aimed at dividing Angola because the children of this region would never allow it. No one is strong enough to make Huambo, the central highlands, and the south, accept a secession. As a matter of fact, during our fight for dignity, the people of northern Angola—the Kikongo, Musserongo, and Muzombo people—were also ill-treated. They were treated in an undignified manner. They were placed below the dignity of men in their own land. We are in unity with other people who suffered the way we did and who suffer the way we do. It is, therefore, not possible for Huambo to constitute a danger base for a secession.

I would also like to point out that children born in this region would not accept secession. I would like to cite some of them with a very clear purpose: My brother presidential candidate Daniel Julio Chipenda; MPLA government Prime Minister Dr. Marcelino [name as heard] Moco; Minister Kassoma; State Secretary Gilberto; Dr. Jorge Alicerces Valentim, UNITA information secretary; Dr. Jeronimo Wanga; Dr. Jaka Jamba, General Manuvacola, Ambassador Lucas Rato, the descendants of Pedro Paulo Bonga's family, the Chikoty's; the Assis Malaquias', Reverend Ricardo Epalanga, Chief Ekwikwi III, the descendants of teacher Eduardo Daniel Ekunde, the descendants of teacher Andre Yuva, General Demostenes Amos Chilingutula; the descendants of Reverend Paulino Gonguwa Jauka, nurse Joao Kunanga, nurse Moraes da Chala, the Isaac Pena's family; teachers Kisse Lucombe, Abias Muecalia, Benjamin Liwanyka; the descendants of Lotes Malheiro Savimbi's family; the relatives of the families of Zacarias Paulo Gato, Chivukuvuku, Chindondo, Feliciano Nunda, and Reverend Chipaka, a descendant of Chief Muchikita; and many others; the distinguished representatives of the Catholic Church, whose children born in this fatherland today are [words indistinct] throughout Angola and throughout the world. No one, not one of them would ever accept to have Huambo as the starting point for secessionist ideas. What is more, the distinguished children of this land who have already died, the distinguished children of this land who are found abroad defending the honor and the cultural values of this area, would never agree with whomever he is to share the idea of a secession, having Huambo as the starting point.

In my capacity as the commander in chief of the FALA forces, I would like to guarantee all the children of this region, I would like to guarantee our compatriots with whom we share the painful path in northern Angola, I would like to guarantee all the residents of southern Angola, even Luanda residents, that the taking of Huambo cannot in any way represent a danger to national unity. The taking of Huambo is a question of honor. It is aimed at enabling us to unequivocally demonstrate that weak people, that people considered weak, when their cultural values and their traditions are

attacked, when they are attacked in their churches, their families, and in their own land, they have strength to react and to win.

What is more, during this period of joy after the liberation of Huambo, it is equally important to speak about our bitterness, the humiliation that we have endured since the colonial period, how we are divided by Luandalandia as if we were a showroom. We do not join the Luandalandia government because it validates us. We do not join the Luandalandia parties because we have ideologically chosen that party. We join their governments, we join their parties just to demonstrate that the Bailundos [derogatory way to describe natives of central Angola] have not been loathed.

It is necessary that Angola deeply reflects on this situation. Angola should realize that equality among Angolans cannot just be mere words in the Constitution. It cannot just be a post. It must be a demand. It must be an honor. It must be a dignity.

Huambo will never again fall into the hands of the MPLA, even if the war lasts many, many years. We would like the UNITA and FALA victory in Huambo to serve as a [word indistinct] sign to the government of Eduardo dos Santos, because if he understood that Huambo was politically strategic and militarily decisive, we think that the Huambo battle can lead us to other victories. All the same, we would like to see [words indistinct] wisdom, African culture to rapidly lead us to the conclusion of this war.

I am making not an appeal but a request to my brother Daniel Julio Chipenda and many others that we can have differences over the paths we are following. We have always had these differences but we should find a way to hold discussions, to hold talks so that we can all honorably and firmly defend our values, the values bestowed on us by our parents and grandparents. Luandalandia becomes very happy whenever it is able to place Chikoty [government deputy foreign minister] against Savimbi, when they place Chipenda against Savimbi, when they place Nunda against Chilingutula, and when they place Kassoma against Valentim. We are serving Luandalandia's whims while we are a great people, while we have traditions that perhaps Luandalandia does not have.

No one is saying that Creoles should not have their own culture, that Creoles should not live the way they live. All we are saying is that we are not Creoles. All we want to say is that we belong to the Bantu origin and we are Africans. We cannot abdicate and cannot compromise on the defense of these values. We should, therefore, talk. I shall be the first to look for you and those who know my telephone number please call me. Let us overcome our humiliation because we have a very strong moral force. With Huambo we have demonstrated, if that is important, that we have military strength. We have seized tonnes and tonnes of weapons, guns, and tanks, that will allow us to continue with the war for the upcoming years, if that is necessary.

The role played by our commanding, planning, artillery, tank and [words indistinct] officers proved that there was a sound capacity. There were those who said that UNITA had South African mercenaries in Huambo and that they had already been captured. In fact, those mercenaries are businessmen and Namibians who are here with us right now and tomorrow they will come out and speak in order to prove that the MPLA has lied.

As they abandoned their regiment and the Mendes Spencer School, FAPLA and Riot Police personnel born in Huambo managed to protect the Namibians who had come here to sell automobiles to [words indistinct] and brought them to us. They will give their reasons, though it was all staged by William Tone who promised to give dollars. It was a lie that was told to the world and Angola. There are no mercenaries either from South Africa or Zaire. What we have is the capacity of our own soldiers. In view of Luandalandia's complexes, that capacity has been attributed to South African whites.

Brothers of different political persuasions, religious denominations who were born in these beautiful central highlands: Let us have courage. We may even continue to be affiliated in our own organizations, but let us negotiate and (?forget what has been lost) instead of continuing to be used.

All the millions of Angolans from the central highlands to the coast, through Bie and up to Cuanza, Cassongo, Mussende, and Uacu Cungo in Cuanza Sul, Caluquembe, Caconda, Chicomba in northern Huila Province form the majority in Angola. All they want is dignity, that Huambo should have the influence that it deserves, that we should be respected, that our values should not be trampled upon, and that our sons should no longer be taught to be spies. All we want is that prostitution should no longer be promoted and that marijuana stops being consumed in Huambo and in our cities. We only want to be represented by our own representatives. That is what all those peoples who feel humiliated and rejected want.

We ought to form a front in order to show Luandalandia that Luanda was the capital chosen by the Portuguese settlers. In view of the fact that its people consist mainly of Creoles, Luanda still has to attract other Angolans so that it may be the real capital of Angola. One cannot live in Luanda today. Luanda has inherited values extraneous to Africa and one cannot (?be linked) to them. Luanda wanted to be the (?center) where extraneous policies were implemented, and of subcultures with no roots in Africa.

Yet, no one wants them to be different from them. They may continue to be what they are. Yet, why do they not let us live as we please? Why do they want to impose armed Communism and only one way of thinking on all Angolans? This will always cause wars.

Wars are bad and destructive, but often they are worth it so that once peace is established it will be a lasting peace, individual values will be respected, there will be a balanced dialogue and (?higher) values may one day surface in order to unite us, changing our country into a nation. It is

not on the basis of intolerance, abuse and attacks on opposition parties, and it will not be through the Ministry of State Security that one can force deputies to join parliament, nor through a caricature of democracy that we will be able to overcome our problems. Angola is a potentially rich country which (?we can build).

In order for us to be absolutely consistent with ourselves in view of what happened in the past few years [words indistinct]. When the colonial war ended in 1975, Holden Roberto's Angola National Liberation Front [FNLA] was the strongest party from a military standpoint. It was also (?well known). What did the MPLA do? The MPLA destroyed the FNLA by creating division and putting pressure on African countries so that President Holden Roberto could not live there. He had to go to France.

The MPLA has no feelings. The MPLA does not acknowledge historic values. When it massacres Kikonos, Muzombos, and Mussurongos the MPLA is trying to impose by force and intimidation a fraudulent democracy, the like of which has never been seen in any other democracy. It wants all people to say amen to the thinking and [words indistinct] of the Creoles, as well as to the atrophied thinking of those in the Futungo de Belas Palace.

We do not want to impose anything on anybody. We want to talk on a basis of respect (?whenver) it is possible. We want to talk to the leaders of other movements and parties. We may have our differences with people like President Holden Roberto, who is the eldest leader in this country's liberation affairs, or my brother and candidate Daniel Julio Chipenda, but we can talk in order to prevent the country from [words indistinct]. We can talk to painters Boavista and Pinto Joao, author [names indistinct] and many others.

We have the great privilege of having an armed force, though we would like such force not to be a tool of division and destruction. We would like our armed force to be used as a (?disciplined) tool of pressure on the MPLA government, on the designs of the Creoles and on Luandalandia so that we may reach an accord and enter into dialogue with dignity. Our armed forces cannot be encamped. Our armed forces will not accept being disarmed unless we find ground for negotiations that will respect men, their culture, our lives, and dignity in an Angola that includes everybody and does not divide and [words indistinct] us.

Luanda has rejected [word indistinct] and only those who had no other alternative stayed in Luanda. Nonetheless, some people stayed in Luanda who think like us and we only wanted to be of service to all Angolans so that when negotiations begin, the MPLA will not choose certain individuals as government representatives, but all of us who represent the people, the parties, and the various opinions.

We would like to say that what was lost in Luanda on 31 October and on 1 November 1992 [words indistinct]. Today, we have thousands upon thousand of men, women, and children. We have generals and officials who are in custody, and some of them are being bribed in order to attack their own brothers as lackeys.

If the MPLA really wants negotiations, it should not bring back lackeys as was the case of Zacarias, Mackenzie, and (?Renato).

We would like to say something: We are sorry for the situation in which you find yourselves. It is not a good situation. Your situation is one of prisoners. Now, do not play into the hands of those who torture and humiliate you! Do not play into the hands of those who see you as Bailundos capable of dancing to any musician's improvised tune. That is because you will also be playing Handel's Hallelujah Chorus, so you will be entertained. Tomorrow, they might also play you [words indistinct].

We insist on the release of our prisoners. This war will not end because we will continue and will go even further. We demand the immediate release of Ambassador Abel Chivukuvuku, General Wambu, and Dr. Morgado. On humanitarian grounds, Dr. Morgado should be allowed to visit his mother and embrace her because she has lost her husband. We in UNITA are making every effort and once our delegation leaves, Filipa Morgado should leave with her child for Portugal in order to meet her husband. It is up to them to decide whether they want to return to Angola or continue to be UNITA members. The MPLA should meet this challenge.

Though I wish to avoid mentioning names, the fact is that we have documents which we will release. The hatred by the MPLA, Sukissa, William Tone, and Ngueto against the Catholic church in Huambo is evident. One of their main targets was to bomb the (?Episcopal) center and to destroy the Catholic, Evangelical, and Adventist churches. I would like to ask: What is the role played by His Eminence Cardinal Alexander Nascimento regarding the (?call) made in Luanda along tribal lines and which today constitutes the MPLA's philosophy? What is the role of His Eminence Cardinal Alexander do Nascimento in view of the destruction of Catholic churches and their members hated? Does he keep quiet?

We, Christians of all denominations, from the central highlands, would like the rapid return of our archbishop [name indistinct] otherwise we will not stop here. He is an important element who will keep the situation in Huambo stable. We will not stop at Huambo. We will go up to Benguela, Bie, Lubango, and wherever else we can because today we have the means. We strongly demand before the international community and before all Catholics that we take to the streets, raise our weapons because our archbishop should return to his flock in complete safety.

Our guidelines: We are willing to resume negotiations at once. First, with the MPLA and then with other political parties and sectors.

Surely, there will be people who will be excluded. Pinto de Andrade [words indistinct]. Initially, he was a priest. Afterward, he felt that he had made a mistake and got married. He was the leader of the Active Revolt faction which represented the Creoles. Once again he felt that he had made a mistake. He then created the Civic Action which was the embryo of a party. So, he was mistaken once again. He had the backing of His Eminence Cardinal Alexander do Nascimento in order for the Catholics to form a party with Pinto de Andrade as leader. So, His Eminence Cardinal Nascimento was also mistaken.

Afterward, Pinto de Andrade decided to usurp power in the Renewal Party, but he was mistaken again. He even said something that annuls his career completely. He accused his comrades of being racists for calling him a mulatto, though in the end he is believed to have said that he was ashamed to be Angolan. We know why. He has another fatherland of which he is not ashamed, though he will always be ashamed of our fatherland.

Our program is aimed at continuing the talks. Our delegation will leave Huambo on 13 March, that is in four days time. We want to hold talks with the MPLA but as I said earlier, we should begin to expand the [words indistinct].

We do not want talks to be held in Addis Ababa any more. We shall only attend the talks if they are held in Geneva. First of all, we want to see the restructuring of the UN mediation so that we do not talk as if we were children. UNITA requests the withdrawal of Ms. Margaret Anstee as the representative of the UN secretary general here in Angola. As long as she is here, there will be no negotiations, because she has no experience in African affairs. She should leave. On the side of UNITA, she has no backing. She has never had it, even diplomatically, when we wanted to speak to her.

Now, we hear from Luanda, from a communist regime, that ladies like her are on the streets, so much so that even the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 tells me that Ms. Anstee is a bandit. I am not the one saying it. I am just repeating what happened in Luanda two days ago. By the way, whom does she serve most here in Angola? It is Luanda where she has all her friends. It is in Luanda where she favored the rigging of elections. It is in Luanda where she was feted here and there. Now she is considered a bandit there. Now, why should we need Anstee?

We want a well-structured UN mediation. We, therefore, feel that Ms. Anstee is no longer useful. She lost prestige. We want a person of prestige and if possible an African. During the Bicesse negotiations, we insisted a great deal

that the verification forces should be led by an African. That is why we were happy when a Nigerian was appointed to the post. African problems must be resolved among Africans. We want UN mediation and assistance. We want the mediation and the assistance of other people who have more experience. But we would equally like to see Africans at a given time play roles that not only represent our own independence but that can also prove our capacity to reflect, to think, and to carry out action.

We accept the Bicesse Accord. We shall have to review certain clauses of the accord to be able to adapt them to the present situation. That is because Portugal, Spain, Brazil, and South Africa are deliberately violating the Triple Zero Option. Portugal waged a major campaign so that the MPLA could bring in mercenaries and buy weapons. Why are Antonovs-124 landing in Catumbela everyday? It is a giant and strategic aircraft from the Soviet forces. What is it bringing in? Is it bringing in fertilizers? Why was the finance minister of the MPLA government dismissed? It is because the generals kept all the money to buy weapons. Were they not the first to violate the Triple Zero Option with the introduction of weapons from Spain to establish the Riot Police? In the city of Huambo for 55 days we had to confront the Riot Police, who only fought with PKM submachine guns. Not even the FAPLA forces handled the PKM submachine guns better. Moreover, the Riot Police showed greater ability to take advantage of the operation of [words indistinct] and took sides.

Mercenaries who come to Angola will never return to their countries. As for foreign technicians from other countries, we shall continue to have the same condescendence. We shall have the same human sentiment to free them as we did in Catanda, (Vazamba), and as we finally did in Uige. But the captured mercenaries will be summarily executed, whether they come from South Africa or Portugal.

On behalf of the UNITA's Armed Forces, I would like to make a strong appeal. If (?UNITA) is attacked by mercenaries coming from Cabinda, there will be immediate consequences. We have the capacity to expel these mercenaries. If they are captured, they will be executed by the commanders who capture them. It will not at all be necessary to give us any explanation. I am appealing to our commanders in Soyo: If you capture a mercenary, execute him. Foreign technicians are no longer in Soyo.

What is more, if Cabinda serves as a base to attack Soyo, we shall then go up to Cabinda and we shall see. We shall go to the territory where we did not want to fight because we consider our Cabindan brothers to have their own rights. But if they allow mercenaries to make Cabinda their base, we shall have no other alternative than to develop an intense struggle in that small territory with very serious consequences.

Our program also envisages the establishment of a provisional government and a government of national unity

which will last for at least two years in order to eliminate the hatred, resentment, and heal our wounds, so we can then organize ourselves. I see this as a major administrative decentralization that would serve the interests of all the people of Angola. This decentralization should equally help to create solid bases for national unity.

We shall accept the cease-fire as long as mechanisms are created to verify [words indistinct]. Defamatory people say that UNITA had a hidden army. Yes, we had to be cautious, because when Joao de Matos was in Huambo with General Numa in February 1992, he said that he had a big force in Huambo, a big force in Benguela, and a big force in Funda, Luanda because even if UNITA won elections, the MPLA would never accept it. Numa is now in northern Angola. He can be interviewed and will repeat these things. The MPLA has never followed true democracy. It was just a show off.

Accordingly, as the Portuguese say, once burnt twice shy. Mechanisms must be in-depth and very powerful so they can be (?effective). We were not naive. When we saw that nobody monitored the MiG's, Sukhoys, and tanks because they were not allowed to, we also went on reinforcing our own armed forces. Today, we only lack aircraft. We have captured tanks in Mavinga. We captured more tanks in Cuito Cuanavale. We have now captured many, many tanks here in Huambo. We have antiaircraft guns, long-range guns, and we have enough ammunition. We can, therefore, continue with this war for a long time. On the other hand, we are open for a completely open discussion with all our Angolan brothers in order to find a lasting peace for our country.

Our delegation, which will leave on 13 March 1993, will visit Lisbon, Paris, London, Bonn, Munich, Rome, Brussels, Abidjan, Nigeria, Rabat, New York, and Washington to express our views about what we want in a more advanced situation, bringing [word indistinct] solutions to Angola, to which we all aspire.

Africa must play a more positive role. UNITA does not agree with the Frontline States. UNITA does not want to talk with the Frontline States. UNITA does want to hold discussions with President Robert Mugabe, however, because we know him and respect him. We are ready to send a delegation to Zimbabwe. We would also like to send a delegation to Namibia because we are neighbors and we [words indistinct] with Namibia.

Today, Namibians are once again slaves of the MPLA as if they were not independent. They have been punishing civilians. They have been creating pretexts for the MPLA to use Namibian territory to invade Angola. If they do it, however, we shall assume our position of the past. We shall attack the Ruacana Dam. Even if it takes 55 days, we will be able to destroy the Ruacana Dam. This is a serious warning. We are not asking the Namibian Government to give us weapons. We are not asking the Namibian Government to give us war materiel. But to deny food to their brethren, to their neighbors, we cannot accept this any longer. We are determined to

show Namibia that if does not want to cooperate in the sentiments of Bantu Africa, than we will use force because Cunene is on our side. It is not on the other side.

If that is what Namibia wants, with its very weak economy, then let it be. We want Nigeria to play a very important role because Nigeria is a big country. Nigeria is the biggest country on this continent. The world cannot deny [words indistinct]. We want Nigeria to play an important role in the Angolan issue. We are going to listen to President Babangida. We want to see His Majesty King Hassan II, because of his experience and moderation, to play an important role in Angola. We want President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the eldest African statesman, to play an important role in the search of peace here in Angola.

I am not against the Portuguese and UNITA is not against the Portuguese. We should, however, look at things as they are. There is an absolute incompatibility between Prime Minister Cavaco Silva's personality and mine, though that should not hinder progress in the rapprochement between UNITA and the Portuguese Government, nor does that mean that the Portuguese Government cannot play a role, although we understand that when they played the role of the mediator, they were on the side of the MPLA. It is enough to remember the visit by Cavaco Silva to Luena, though all that is of minor importance.

We consider the Portuguese to be friends of the Angolans, if for no other reason than that there is Portuguese blood here in Angola. There is also Portuguese [as heard] blood in Portugal. We speak the same language. The Portuguese language is a synthetic and scientific instrument that enables us to express our African cultural values. There is, therefore, a very vast segment of understanding and cooperation with Portugal. Hence, the incompatibility of character between the Portuguese prime minister and Jonas Savimbi should not constitute a problem.

As long as the Portuguese Government suggests that I should be physically eliminated, they will be facing an adversary that is not easy to defeat. If they are not careful, they will be [words indistinct] I cannot forget that my father died in Portuguese jails and this hurts me continuously, but I am able to overcome it. I am able to forget if the Belem government [Portuguese President's office], if the Sao Bento government [Portuguese government's office] does not come here [words indistinct].

Belem, where President of the Republic Mario Soares is found, should play a role [words indistinct] Sao Bento thinks of imposing neocolonialism in Angola and we want to resist such neocolonial attempts which are planned and devised in Sao Bento. Right now, we want Belem to act as a mirror so that the incompatibility between two people does not lead to tragedy. I would like to warn that murder plots devised in Portugal against myself could create a completely irreversible (?situation). How many Portuguese are living in Angola.

How many Savimbis are found in Portugal? There are no Savimbis in Portugal but there are many Portuguese here and it is not Belem's responsibility to outline the Portuguese policy in Angola. That is the responsibility of Sao Bento. But Sao Bento does not find proper ways to enable us to overcome our natural antagonism. He was born the way he was born. I was born the way I was born [words indistinct] we can lead to hatred. Portugal has already served as a base [words indistinct] Portugal has already served as a base for attempts against UNITA leaders. Portugal has also already served as a base to the so much talked about abolition of the Triple Zero Clause, thereby enabling the MPLA to freely recruit mercenaries [words indistinct] Portugal can do another thing [words indistinct] expel our representative and close down our delegation. We know that in Portugal [words indistinct], we have sincere friends. In Portugal there are people who would like to see the war end in Angola. It is not the Portuguese prime minister [words indistinct] it is not the Portuguese prime minister making the most [word indistinct] ('accusations) against me and the UNITA officials. He will not be more of a prime minister for that. He will be less of a prime minister. [passage indistinct]

I am launching a general appeal to all UNITA armed forces [words indistinct] wherever they might be in order to gather together in their old areas. We have uniforms, arms, ammunition, bombs, and food. Come, but do not leave for assembly points. You should leave for your old areas and we will immediately organize to collect you. We will immediately order the reorganization of your units in order to continue with the battles for the sake of bringing dignity to the Bantu people in their land of origin. Come quickly. I know that you will trust my word. [passage indistinct]

Dos Santos on New Ministers, Economy, War

MB0903214293 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Speech by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos on the occasion of the swearing in of the new government members in Luanda on 9 March—recorded]

[Text] Distinguished government members, ladies and gentlemen:

Sooner than expected, here we are swearing in new government members in a minor, though significant, ministerial reshuffle that has been necessitated by the very nature of the governing process. What happened was that as part of our effort to establish a true state of law in Angola, we had to replace a number of elements of the country's economic management sector because we could not accept as a chance mishap the unilateral application by one or two officials of extemporaneous measures which were potentially harmful to the people, the study of which had neither been carried out in depth nor completed by the Council of Ministers.

Moreover, the general guidelines of the economic recovery program, approved by the Council of Ministers on 7 January 1993, had been conceived for a situation of peace with a four-year time frame, of which 18 months were designed to deepen and consolidate that program, and the remaining 30 months earmarked for structural adjustment. The program could not be implemented unless the changes posed by the new political and military situation had come about. In fact, the rejection of dialogue and the option for war clearly made by the warmongering National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], led by Jonas Savimbi, including all the negative effects of such an attitude, notably the impossibility of people and goods moving freely, demanded greater care in the implementation of the measures provided in the recovery program because it was indispensable that one should take into consideration all aspects of the economy.

The worsening, because of the war, of the general economic situation and, as a consequence, of the living standards of the people meant that the government and its institutions had to operate under exceptional emergency conditions, geared mainly at assisting the nearly 2 million displaced people and protecting the most vulnerable and underprivileged layers of society.

Obviously, the government cannot run the country as if we were in a time of peace. The promises of peace and national reconciliation are in open contradiction with the violence and undeclared war that UNITA is imposing on us right now. In order to avoid this apparent dead end, the government must first and foremost give priority to the defense of the people, the country, and its democratic institutions because the solution to all the other problems we are facing depends on an end to the war.

We are, therefore, pleased that the National Assembly has finally approved the Law on National Defense which provides for a number of control mechanisms adapted to the current situation. In fact, defense ought to be a duty of all Angolans and not only of the Armed Forces and internal order agencies. It is fundamental that we organize defense efficiently. Likewise, the participation of all agencies in that process should also be efficiently organized.

In that context, our people have great admiration and acknowledge the attitude of those youths, who, having not so long ago been demobilized and without hesitation and disregarding hardships, answered the appeal made by the authorities and once again enlisted in the Angolan Armed Forces in a conscientious and voluntary manner in order to defend the people and the democratic regime.

The most clear example of the tragic threat facing our country is the one being experienced by the sacrificed civilian residents of Huambo. After almost two months of intense and continual shelling, those residents are now subjected to the brutal occupation of the city by

Jonas Savimbi's troops and mercenaries of various origins with the evident backing of South Africa and Zaire. Had there been no other reasons—and these exist—the genocide in Huambo would be enough to confirm once and for all the bloody and revengeful nature of a group that in itself is an affront to all human rights and which violates all its undertakings and even challenges and disregards, always with great impunity, the United Nations, the three observer countries, and the international community as a whole.

In view of that, it is unfair and even immoral that that same international community should hinder the legitimate defensive actions taken by the Angolan Government, by continuing to impose on it the Triple Zero Option which prevents the government from obtaining abroad the indispensable means to cope with aggression and assert and confirm the democratic regime that came out of the free, fair, and internationally supervised elections. Moreover, the international community has done nothing to prevent [as heard] the disarming of UNITA which in a scandalous manner has managed, quote, to hide, unquote, from the observers an army of more than 20,000 men, completely equipped with the most sophisticated war materiel, including armored vehicles and long-range artillery with which it is now waging an armed rebellion.

The only dignified manner of doing away with that regrettable, quote, blindness, unquote, on the part of those who had the duty of seeing to it that Jonas Savimbi's army was completely disarmed, can now only be through the definitive abandonment of all their ambiguous and compromising positions, and in a clear and varied support to the Angolan Government in the legitimate actions that it carries out in the defense of its sovereignty and the democratic option as outlined in the Bicesse peace accords. That support is forever increasing because the state of Angola will be forced to increase its defense expenditure and to reduce the allocation of resources to other vital sectors of our economy at a time when the general political, military, and socioeconomic crisis is worsening in view of the lack of internal production, notably in the manufacturing industry, the disruption of rural production, the growing dependency on imports as a means of supplying the domestic market, and the extensive foreign debt, including the major servicing of the debt on short- and medium-term basis.

In view of that, the management of the country's economy ought to be very careful and parsimonious in the spirit of an economy afflicted by war. Although the recovery program must continue, renewed care should be taken within the framework of minimum stability as guaranteed by the control of the budget deficit and other related measures at a time when the productive sector is virtually based on reduced oil production and other activities which do not generate major tax revenue.

The economic program should be an integral part of the government's overall plan of action which was drafted

after the government of the second Republic was inaugurated. This program could fit within the framework of the national plan or the budget, and should not be implemented before its approval by the National Assembly according to the Constitution.

One cannot effectively introduce economic programs without estimates and figures, and the Council of Ministers has neither approved its tax revenue plan nor the State General Budget. Worst of all is that during the recent fixing of the new official exchange rate, most of the government members were taken by surprise. This puts at stake our stated desire of greater democratic openness and government transparency. We should, therefore, pay greater attention to the internal organization of the Council of Ministers and improve our working methods so that the Government of the second Republic should effectively be better than the one that served in the first Republic, and which meets the favorable expectations that it has created among the electorate and the people as a whole.

I sincerely hope that the new government members who have just been sworn in integrate harmoniously within the existing cabinet and that together they may decisively cooperate in overcoming the dramatic problems afflicting the Angolan people while having the supreme interests of a united and indivisible Angolan nation at heart. I wish happiness and great success to the new government members in the discharge of their duties. Thank you very much.

Prime Minister Views Huambo's Fall, War Economy

MB1003085693 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Today's Council of Ministers session approved decrees concerning specialized commissions for that council, as well as regulations concerning the Economic and Social Affairs Commission. The Council of Ministers also discussed the problem of supplementary loans to the fisheries sector. At the end of proceedings, Prime Minister Moco said the government will inevitably have to resort to a war economy. He added that the fact that the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] had taken the city of Huambo should not weaken the government's position at talks with Jonas Savimbi's party.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Prime Minister: Obviously, the defense sector will be privileged within the context of a war economy. That will inevitably cause what one might call shortages to the other sectors of national life, thereby generally making it more difficult for people to live.

[Moco] Really, the problem is that for as long as there is war, as long as infrastructure is being destroyed, and as long as Angolans cannot sleep in peace, priority must be given to the war effort. This is a war we are waging for the sake of securing peace as soon as possible. We have

not closed the doors to dialogue, but we believe UNITA is not leaving us any other option. Nonetheless, we will continue to work along the lines of dialogue. We will work to minimize the Angolan people's hardship arising from the need to give priority to the war effort. I believe our work with various international organizations is there to be seen. We have been working to alleviate our people's problems, particularly with regard to displaced people, and so on.

[Reporter] In this context, we are returning to a certain centralization of the economy, notably with regard to the Foreign Exchange Budget, management of the General State Budget and the Foreign Exchange Budget, because some well-defined strategic and defense priorities are in place?

[Moco] This session of the Council of Ministers has not ended yet. We will resume discussions on some of the issues raised here on 19 March. We recommended that the present economic and financial teams consider a real adaptation of the Economic Stabilization Program to current conditions, in view of the operations conducted by UNITA over the last few days and of UNITA leaders' statements to the effect that war must be intensified.

[Reporter] Looking at the political side of the matter, to what extent will Huambo's fall give UNITA a certain advantage that will allow it to make demands on the government, should new talks eventually take place?

[Moco] We will continue to work with the aim of having UNITA operate within the context of the accords. It is unacceptable that one of the sides should be making demands contravening the wishes of the Angolan people, who conveyed their vote during the September elections, and contravening the accords which were backed by the international community, which put much work into them. I believe we are in a position not to accept blackmail from any quarter whatever. [end recording]

UNITA Reports 15,000 Killed During Ongoing War

MB0903085193 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] The war caused by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT] government has already killed 15,000 civilians and soldiers in Angola. What is more, it has resulted in a serious shortage of food and medicines throughout the country, as well as thousands of war-displaced people.

A number of international organizations have expressed their readiness to render humanitarian assistance to the Angolan people affected by a devastating war caused by the tribal MPLA-PT government. This humanitarian process demands maximum honesty and responsibility to prevent the government from transforming humanitarian convoys into a Trojan horse.

UNITA Reports Deaths in Lunda Norte

MB0903085293 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] The warmongering adventures of the militarist wing of Eduardo dos Santos' organization are completely doomed to failure. The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] attacked a joint military column of government troops and the Riot Police along the (Cachanguide)-Luchico road south of the city of Dundo in Lunda Norte Province on 6 March, inflicting on the enemy heavy human and material losses. Our correspondent Muto Yakivela says FALA forces killed 18 enemy soldiers, burned six vehicles, and captured 13 AK-47 weapons, three hand grenades, 700 AK-47 rounds of ammunition, a Seiko watch, 2 million new kwanzas, and many essential commodities.

Parliament Approves Compulsory Military Service

MB0903115993 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Angolan parliamentarians will resume their proceedings at the 10 December Palace this morning. The parliamentarians will center their debates on the draft law on the National Assembly, the status of deputies, and the National Assembly draft budget. Yesterday, Angolan parliamentarians called on the United Nations to (?implement) Resolution 804 which views UNITA as the principal violator of the peace accords and authorizes the government to resort to Article 51 of the UN Charter to guarantee the security of the people and the integrity of the fatherland.

Also yesterday, Angolan women called on the United Nations to adopt measures against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] of Jonas Savimbi, which is mounting an unjust war against the Angolan people. The Angolan women made this demand during a march on the streets of Luanda which ended at the UN headquarters in Luanda. The march which, began at Quinaxixe Square, was led by Joana Lina, Angolan Women's secretary for promotion and development.

It should be noted that yesterday Angolan parliamentarians also approved the law on compulsory military service, which states that all male citizens aged between 20 and 45 must undergo military service. Citizens aged between 30 and 45 will only undergo reserve military service. Women will be drafted into the compulsory military service on voluntary basis.

Deferments will only be issued to university students who excel, higher education students in their final year, and for health reasons.

UNITA Condemns Approval

MB0903085393 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Political observers said that the Parliament, which resulted from the rigged September elections, approving the compulsory military service will in no way resolve the Angolan problem. The observers said the Parliament should concern itself with problems that would bring about peace in the country through dialogue and insisted that military problems be resolved by its negotiating team. They said to recruit young men to join a morally corroded army for war is tantamount to prolonging the genocide carried out by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola which has already killed many people.

Madagascar

HCC Announces Election Results; Zafy Winner

EA0903215593 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] So, professor Albert Zafy is the first president of the Third Republic. He has been elected after the second ballot of the presidential elections of 10 February. This morning the High Constitutional Court [HCC] announced the official results of the second ballot of the presidential election at the Malagasy Ministry of Foreign Affairs headquarters in Anosy.

During the ceremony it was announced that votes from 239 polling stations had been declared void; 85,783 votes had been declared void; registered voters, 6,282,564; votes cast, 4,302,663; blank or invalid votes, 157,319; valid votes, 4,145,344; votes won by candidate Albert Zafy, 2,766,704 or 66.74 percent; and votes won by candidate Didier Ratsiraka, 1,378,640 or 33.26 percent.

Ratsiraka Congratulates Zafy

EA0903215993 Antananarivo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy 1600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] After the High Constitutional Court [HCC] decision announcing the victory of candidate Albert Zafy in the presidential election, the current president, Didier Ratsiraka, Zafy's rival during the presidential elections, addressed a message of congratulations to him [Zafy]. It was the High Constitutional Court chairman who read out the message of congratulations and best wishes to the newly-elected president of the Third Republic from Admiral Didier Ratsiraka. The message reads as follows:

Mr. President, the High Constitutional Court today officially announced that the Malagasy people have appointed you president of the Republic through elections. Please accept the congratulations and best wishes which I convey to you with total respect and in a total brotherly way.

I express the great wish for Madagascar to progress and develop under true democratic and free practices and usages in which bowing to the opinion of the majority cannot be dissociated from listening to and respecting the views of the minority, with brotherly respect and with tolerance. The priority [now] is to allow the people and decision-makers at all levels to get down to the joint efforts for national recovery.

I convey my encouragement and best wishes to you in carrying out the difficult duty which you are going to undertake. Please accept, Mr. President, my very brotherly respect.

Mozambique

UN's Ajello To Handle Renamo Logistical Problems

MB1003102693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Portugal's LUSA news agency reports UN Special Representative Aldo Ajello is to become personally involved in the resolution of logistical problems experienced by the Mozambique National Resistance's [Renamo] in Maputo. He will seek international financial backing in a bid to settle the problems of a lack of accommodation and food currently experienced by the Renamo team in Maputo.

Renamo has been refusing to attend Supervision and Control Commission [CSC] meetings since 6 March. Those meetings had been called in order to discuss government allegations that Renamo had been violating the peace accords. The government had notified Aldo Ajello of those violations last weekend.

Renamo Confirms Absence From 9 Mar Unomoz Meeting

MB0903183293 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Raul Domingos, Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] representative in the Supervision and Control Commission [CSC] of the General Peace Accord, has confirmed to Radio Mozambique that his delegation would not attend the meeting scheduled for this afternoon with the UN Operations in Mozambique and the ambassadors from the observer countries. A meeting was held this morning between the UN Operations in Mozambique, the observer countries, and the government delegation to the CSC. Raul Domingos told Radio Mozambique his movement would not attend the scheduled meeting this afternoon since he and other Renamo cadres, including Secretary General Vicente Ululu, would soon be travelling to Maringue where they will attend a meeting with Afonso Dhlakama.

Commenting on Renamo's absence in this afternoon's meeting, the UN spokesman said, visibly embarrassed, that he could do nothing. For his turn, a member of the

government delegation to the CSC said the latest developments, particularly Renamo's absences in important meetings, are self-evident.

Namibia

Aviation Firm Flies S. African Operatives To Angola

MB1003245593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0931 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Windhoek Mar 10 SAPA—A Windhoek-based aviation company, Pro Pilot, has been contracted to fly specially-trained security operatives from South Africa to guard key installations in Angola, the WINDHOEK ADVERTISER reported on Wednesday.

Chief Executive Krause Steyl said Pro Pilot had been contracted by Executive Outcomes, owned by Eben Barlow, to fly the men to Angola.

Mr Barlow stressed that an international oil company, and not the Angolan Government, had hired executive outcomes to recruit and transport the men to guard oil installations which were not named.

Since last week the security personnel had been armed.

Mr Steyl said it was not his business to inquire into the men's missions, but merely to transport the passengers.

"I wonder what the mystery is about the flights by Pro Pilot?" He asked, denying that the fact they took off in the dead of night from Grand Central Airport outside Johannesburg meant the operation was clandestine or illegal.

"The reason is we have to be in Luanda early," he said.

South African news reports claimed a 200-strong group of highly-trained former South African soldiers from 32 Battalion, the Ovambo battalion and other specialised units, were preparing to attack UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Leader Jonas Savimbi at his Jamba headquarters in southern Angola.

The group is reportedly being led by some of South Africa's most experienced soldiers and three Angolans who distinguished themselves against Angolan Government forces and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization].

Mr Steyl said he accepted the assignment when documentation showed it was all completely above board.

Mr Steyl said South African immigration officials were on duty at Grand Central at 2am before take-off; Namibian authorities were aware of the trans-Namibian flights; and Angolan authorities were on hand to meet the arrivals in Luanda.

"The men we take on board, and I have flown some of the missions myself, are healthy, strong relaxed young men," Mr Steyl said. "Some are white, some black."

He had heard the passengers speaking only English and Afrikaans and they had been unarmed.

One of the aircraft being used for the flights is reportedly a Cessna 404, (V5-WAA) known as Ghost Rider, with a fuel endurance allowing 15 hours of flying.

Mr Steyl said the only reason the Namibian-registered company had been used was because of the long-distance capability of one of its aircraft. If it were not for that particular machine, a South African company would have been approached.

Zambia

Official Doubts State of Emergency To Affect Donor Aid

MB0903191693 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] The deputy minister in charge of economic development, D. Nyerenda, has dismissed fears that donor agencies might withdraw their aid to Zambia because of government's decision to reimpose the state of emergency. Mr. Nyerenda said the state of emergency has not affected the country's [word indistinct] or its relations with the donor community [word indistinct]. He was addressing newsmen in [place indistinct] close to Lusaka today. He said, under the state of emergency the government [words indistinct] to uphold human rights in that a person would only be detained for a maximum of seven days after which the state would be legally obliged to give reasons for that person's continued detention. Mr. Nyerenda assured the nation that the MMD [Movement for Multiparty Democracy] government will not act like the previous UNIP [United National Independence Party] regime which [word indistinct] state of emergency [words indistinct].

France Donates Foodstuffs Worth 600 Million Kwacha

MB1003114893 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] The French Government has donated 5,000 tonnes of wheat flour, 200 tonnes of vegetable oil, and 60

tonnes of powdered milk, all worth 600 million kwacha to the World Food Program in Zambia. Handing over the donation to Agriculture Food and Fisheries Minister Dr. Guy Scott, French Ambassador to Zambia Pierre Cornee said the donation was part of a drought relief program. Mr. Cornee said that the French Government recognized that Zambia was one of the countries which were adversely affected by last year's regional drought and thus deserved assistance. Dr. Scott expressed gratitude for the assistance and noted that the present administration had inherited bankrupt coffers and hence needed support from other countries.

Meanwhile, Minister of Agriculture Dr. Guy Scott has said Zambia is likely to achieve self-sufficiency in wheat production in the next two years. He told French Ambassador Mr. Cornee that soon Zambia will start requesting for financial assistance to pay farmers instead of asking for the wheat because the country will be producing enough wheat.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe Extends State of Disaster by 3 Months

MB0903192193 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe has extended the state of disaster he declared a year ago to help combat the worst drought this century.

Government officials in Harare said President Mugabe had announced that the special powers would remain for an additional three months to enable the Zimbabwean Government to continue to feed thousands of people still without food.

Widespread rains this season could result in a yield of 1,300,000 tonnes of staple maize in the next few months. However, the government would still need to import 800,000 tonnes of maize to feed whole communities in many rural areas of Zimbabwe. The country had to import more than 2 million tonnes of maize last year.

Burkina Faso**Foreign Minister Returns From Iran, Algeria**

AB1003122593 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] External Relations Minister Thomas Sanou has returned to Ouagadougou after a one-week mission to the Iranian and Algerian capitals. In Algiers, Minister Sanou delivered a message from Burkina Faso's president to Ali Kafi, chairman of the Higher State Council of the Republic of Algeria.

In Tehran, Thomas Sanou held working sessions with his counterpart 'Ali Akbar Velayati. He was later received in audience by Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani.

Niger's Cheiffou Arrives for Working Visit, Departs

AB1003103793 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Niger Prime Minister Amadou Cheiffou returned to Niamey this evening following a one-day friendly working visit to Burkina Faso. Shortly before his departure, Mr. Cheiffou was received by the head of state, President Blaise Compaore. Amadou Cheiffou spoke to Rondial Omda about his discussions with the Burkinabe president:

[Begin Cheiffou recording] The purpose of my visit was to review cooperation between Burkina Faso and Niger. We effectively held a working session with the Burkinabe prime minister and my delegation. We examined the various mechanisms of this cooperation. I can tell you satisfactorily that the mechanisms are functioning well. We just tried to find the ways and means of improving and strengthening them. We also exchanged views on problems of common interest. I came to brief the head of state on all these issues.

I also took the opportunity to inform him about the level of progress of the electoral operations in Niger. You may recall that we are practically at the final stage of our democratic process. In a few days, God willing, the second round of the presidential elections will take place in Niger. This will mark the end of the elections.

The head of state counselled me. This was very useful because, as you know, in the democratic process as long as the presidential elections are not totally over, one cannot claim victory in advance. [end recording]

The Niger prime minister now takes stock of his action at the head of the transitional government:

[Begin Cheiffou recording] We are now at the end of the democratic process in Niger. We only have a few weeks to go before the organization of the last round of the presidential elections. The success of this process is one of the essential missions entrusted to me by the sovereign

national conference. This is to tell you that one of the important results we have achieved is the success of the elections in Niger, at least for the time being. I know that in this field and in other sensitive fields, nothing is won in advance. But I have good hope that we will hold the elections successfully [words indistinct]. [end recording]

Cote d'Ivoire**New Group Forms Within FPI, Comments on Party Status**

AB0903171093 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 8 Mar 93 p 6

[By Abel Doualy; ellipses as published]

[Text] "At the beginning of multipartyism, FPI [Ivorian Popular Front] quickly positioned itself as the leading opposition political force (...) Today, we are forced to admit that our party is stagnating, regressing dangerously, (...) Contributions, which normally constitute the main source of funding for the party, have dropped by half. The ward committees that were formed in large numbers in 1990 are in bad shape. A lot of them have ceased to exist, and among those that are still existing, many are functioning poorly. Our party's situation demands that each one of us positively use his right to criticism and self-criticism in accordance with Article 12 of the party's by-laws (...)

This is the courageous stand adopted by a group of FPI activists, who have decided to come together to form a body called the "Opinion Group of Democracy and Socialism." The constituent general assembly of this new group was held yesterday at the former Association of Engineers, Technicians, and Architects of Cote d'Ivoire headquarters in Treichville. As the activists indicated so clearly through Mr. Megny Mathurin of the Yopougon branch and chairman of the organizing committee of this general assembly, they do not intend to "shut the stable door after the horse has gone."

They have therefore decided, at a time when all the red lights are flashing in Laurent Gbagbo's party (Anaky Kobena's resignation, three deputies mad for having been "reprimanded arbitrarily," Louis Dacoury-Tabley caught traveling abroad with a good 20 million francs, declining contributions, moribund ward committees, etc.), to say out loud what cannot be whispered within their party: The poor state of health of this emerging party which, alas, has tactlessly become famous for committing a lot of reprehensible acts for which its activists have always reproached others. "We will be doing our leadership or our party itself a disservice if we close our eyes to our plight and continually dwell on past truths by insisting that all is well with us and that our party is forever growing..."

Mrs. Leopoldine Coffie, the chairperson of the Women's Union of the Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire, recently said that "in politics, there is nothing like shame." These

FPI activists, who are certainly aware of this reality, have, against the wishes of the party's leadership, bravely undertaken to make public the ailments and weaknesses of their party. It should be pointed out that Mr. Kouassi Oussou of the Cocody branch affirmed that "the party leadership is not hostile to this initiative, but did not find it necessary to have itself represented at this constituent general assembly". No comment.

Guinea

Women From National Democratic Forum Hold Rally

AB0903184293 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 8 Mar 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It seems that not even International Women's Day is immune from the political in-fighting which has been making headlines in Guinea in the last few weeks. Multiparty elections should have taken place in December but they have been postponed indefinitely. And today, women from the opposition National Democratic Forum held a rally to support their demand for free and fair elections, and soon, but it has provoked a sharp response from supporters of President Lansana Conte. The rally was held at Bonfi Stadium in Conakry from where Foday Fofana telexed us this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] There were more men than women at this morning's rally, apparently to protect the women from attack by saboteurs or the security forces. About 200 opposition women of the National Democratic Forum sang and danced, calling for transparent elections before May this year. They chanted slogans including: Women Unite for Democracy and Freedom; Jobs for Our Husbands and Our Children; Radio Guinea, Shut Up, We've Had Enough of Your Lies, and Down With the PUP [Unity and Progress Party].

The atmosphere in the city was particularly tense due to a statement by the pro-government Unity and Progress Party, or PUP, claiming that the opposition parties were planning a ghost city action to paralyze commerce and the city's traffic with the aim of overthrowing President Lansana Conte by force.

The communique, which has been broadcast on state radio for the past three days in all the local languages, called on the PUP supporters to be vigilant and standby for action. An angry spokesman for the opposition UNR

[Union for the New Republic] told me at Bonfi Stadium this morning that the radio had deliberately capitalized on the PUP communique in order to intimidate people and discourage them from coming to the rally.

In the commercial zones of Bonfi and Madina many shops were closed and others ready to do likewise at the slightest sign of trouble. The security forces were on full alert and at the headquarters of the antiriot police, truck loads of heavily armed men were on standby. There were two tanks at the central police station with armed gendarmes sitting on top of them. [end recording]

Nigeria

New Ambassador Designate to Israel Appointed

AB0503163393 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 0600 GMT 5 Mar 93

[Text] A career diplomat, Mr. Ignatius Chukwuemeka Oisemeka, has been appointed Nigeria's ambassador designate to Israel. A Ministry of Foreign Affairs statement in Abuja says that the government of Israel has accepted the appointment. Ambassador Oisemeka is currently Nigeria's High Commissioner in Canada. He had earlier served in similar capacities in the United States, Spain, and Kenya. Nigeria and Israel restored diplomatic relations last year after a break of many years. The Israeli Embassy has already been reopened in Nigeria, with Mr. Moshe Gilbo'a as ambassador.

Togo

France Releases First Part of Emergency Aid Package

AB1003094793 Kara Radio Kara in French 1300 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Togo is living in expectation of the meeting of the last chance. It will probably be held in Abuja, Nigeria. After the meeting in Colmar, France, which was a total failure, all the sides involved in the Togolese crisis will soon meet in the Nigerian political capital.

Meanwhile, France, which is very concerned about the serious situation in Togo, has announced through its cooperation and development minister, Marcel Debarge, the release of the first part of an emergency aid package for the Togolese people who are seriously affected by the painful consequences of the sterile, wildcat strike that is without any interest for the people of Togo. This strike has been going on for four months. Paris has decided to disburse a sum of 250 million CFA francs for Lome.

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